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ABSTRACT

This document is one in a series of resource manuals providing child welfare content that can be included in existing core courses in social work education programs, i.e., social work policy, social work practice, social work research, and human development in the social environment. Part 1 of the document discusses the reasons for developing child welfare content for core courses, the process for development and use of the child welfare content, and the five specific issues selected for development. Part 2 presents eight sections of material that can be used to teach the issues of "Working with Black Families and Children" as it relates to child welfare services. Sections I through VI include a discussion of the issue, learning objectives, case studies, learning exercises, and a list of audiovisual aids and resource persons/organizations. Material provided in these sections can be used in any of the four core courses. Section VII lists readings for each of the core courses, and section VIII provides guidelines for incorporating the material on black families and children into each of the four core courses. (BH)

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REGION III
CHILD WELFARE EDUCATION AND TRAINING RESOURCES

SUGGESTED CHILD WELFARE CONTENT
FOR REQUIRED COURSES IN
PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Working With Black Families and Children

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REGION III
CHILD WELFARE TRAINING CENTER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

WORKING WITH BLACK FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

March 1982

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page No.

PART ONE

Instructions For Use Of This Document 1

PART TWO

I. Discussion of the Issue: (Working With Black Families and Children) . 5

A. Background. 6

B. Content Issues (Chestang Article) 10

C. Education/Instruction Issues. 37

II. Learning Objectives. 46

III. Case Studies. 48

A. Casework Vignettes. 50

B. The Green Family. 59

C. Suggestions For Using Case Examples For Class/Fieldwork Assignments 62

IV. Learning Exercises/Teaching Techniques 63

A. Identification of Characteristics of Black Families 64

B. Group Exercise #1 65

C. Exercises In Non-Deficit Thinking 67

(1) Group Exercise #3 67
(2) Case History Critique 67

D. My Culture-Myself (Exercise #4) 70

E. Novels About Black Families (Exercises and Assignments) 71

F. Ethnic Identity Paper (Written Assignment). 72

G. Understanding the Consumer. 74

H. The City Council Exercise 75

I. Directions To Instructor 75
II. Description of the City Council Exercise 77
III. Suggested Roles for Participants in the City Council Exercise 80

V. Audiovisual Resources. 82

Page No.

VI. Resource Persons/Organizations 88

A. Natural Resources 89
B. Afro-American Research and Development Centers. 90
C. Regional Resources. 90
D. Local Resources 90

VII. Readings 91

A. General Readings. 92
B. Readings Relevant To Human Behavior In the Social Environment 95
C. Readings Relevent To Social Work Practice 98
D. Readings Related To Social Work Policy. 100
E. Readings Related To Social Work Research. 102
F. Novels and Literature 104
G. Black Journals and Periodicals. 107

VIII. Guidelines For Incorporating Content In Core Courses 108

A. Human Behavior In the Social Environment. 109
B. Policy. 110
C. Practice. 111
D. Research. 112

PART ONE

Instructions For Use Of This Document

To gain a clear understanding of the purpose and potential utility of the material included in this document, it is essential that the reader carefully review both Part One and Part Two.

Part One

Part One provides introductory information about the development of child welfare curriculum in social work education programs that is critical for establishing the context in which the eight sections in Part Two can be used.

In Part One the Center establishes the reasons for developing child welfare content for core courses, discusses the process for the development and use of child welfare content, and outlines the issues regarding the development of material for core courses.

Part Two

Part Two provides the reader with eight sections of material that can be used in teaching issues in "Working With Black Families and Children" as it relates to child welfare services.

Sections I - VI of Part Two provide material that can be used in any of the four core courses (HBSE, policy, practice, and research). For example, in Section III, Case Studies, it is left to the reader to choose which case study would be used in a HBSE course, which case study would be used in a policy course, etc.

In Section VII, the readings have been listed according to the courses in which they can be used. In Section VIII the implications of "Working With Black Families and Children" are discussed within the context of each of the four courses. When the reader uses Section VIII, he must return to Sections I - VII to find supportive material to use in each individual course.

Introduction

Definition of Child Welfare

In developing content about "Child Welfare" services for social work education programs, the Center is using the definition of child welfare listed below:

> "Child Welfare is a Field of Social Work Practice that includes a System of Agencies, Public and Private, that offer Preventive, Protective, and Rehabilitative Services to Families Where Children are Potentially or Actually in Jeopardy and that offer Temporary or Permanent Substitute Care For Children whose Families Are Unable To Provide Such Care".

According to a national study completed in 1977*, public child welfare services were provided to 1.8 million children in the United States. Twenty five percent of these 1.8 million children were in foster care. Multiple foster care placements were frequent for these children.

These figures indicate that large numbers of families and children disrupt and are separated by foster care placement. The Region III Child Welfare Training Center is committed to strengthening social services to these families and children in order to:

(1) prevent family separation/disruption
(2) reunify families that have been separated
(3) provide timely permanent placements for children who have been separated from their families and who are unable to return home

One means of strengthening these services to families and children is to insure that service providers are trained, competent, and skilled workers who are sensitive to the needs and strengths of families in stress. To sensitize students in social work education programs to these issues, it is necessary to include curriculum on services to families and children at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. The Center is working with social work education programs to develop curriculum about services for families and children and to assist in putting this curriculum material to use in the social work education programs.

Rationale for the Development of Child Welfare Content for Core Courses

During its first two years of operation the Region III Child Welfare Training Center developed the following two family and child welfare related courses, distributed the courses to social work education programs, and conducted workshops about the implementation of these two courses:

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*Shyne, A.W. and Schroeder, A.G., National Study of Social Services to Children and Their Families. (D.H.E.W. Publication No. (OHDS) 78-3015). Rockville, M 1978.

(1) Practice Related Course In Family and Child Welfare for BSW Programs

(2) Home-Based Family Centered Services (for MSW programs)

In most social work education programs, courses such as the above two are electives and are taken primarily by students who are specializing in family and children's services. It is important for students and workers involved in family and child welfare education and practice to be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to provide quality services. This requires extensive specialized education and training. The two courses already developed by the Center will assist in providing the specialized education required by family and children's services workers; however, social workers who provide peripheral support services to families and children must also have the basic knowledge, skills, and sensitivity to assist families in stress.

The field of child welfare shares boundaries with all fields of social work practice, not just family and children's services. A family in stress may need services from the health and mental health system, the educational system, the justice system, the welfare system, etc. It is imperative that social workers in all fields understand family systems, the level at which both public and private agencies can and do intervene in family life, and how social service workers are involved in that intervention. If the family in stress is to be maintained intact, social workers in other support agencies must also have the knowledge and skills to provide critical services to help these families in stress who come to them. They must also be knowledgeable of the entire child welfare system so that they know what specific services are available to families and children in need. For example, too many well intentioned social workers have recommended foster care placement without thoroughly understanding the impact of placement on the family and child, and without a clear knowledge of what foster care placement can and cannot offer.

Many social work education programs lack the financial and faculty resources to include specialized family and child welfare courses in the curriculum. Faculty who teach the required core courses usually rely on their own experience for case examples, learning exercises, etc. to use in each course. If the faculty member has had limited background in family and child welfare, it is difficult for him/her to include child welfare issues in such core courses as practice, policy, research, and human behavior.

In order to assist in solving the above dilemma which is very real in many social work education programs, the Center is developing child welfare content that can be included in already existing core courses in social work education programs. The content will be developed in such a way that faculty whose practice background has not been in child welfare will be able to use it and adapt it to fit the course(s) they are teaching or plan to teach.

The Center does not believe, however, touching on child welfare issues in core courses will or should be a substitute for child welfare specialization in social work education programs. Specialization is essential for students going into family and children's services agencies. However, including child welfare content in required core courses will assure that all students receive at least some exposure to working with families and children in stress.

Process For the Development and Distribution of Child Welfare Content

In order to initiate the process for developing the child welfare content material, the Center submitted a letter to all social work education programs in Region III in April 1981 to acquaint them with the activity and to solicit their suggestions concerning:

(1) the usefulness in having the Center develop core content in child welfare for social work education programs;
(2) the types of specific issues that should be addressed in the development of child welfare content for core courses;
(3) their interest in serving as a reviewer of the core material that is developed.

Using the responses to our initial memorandum and obtaining input from the Center Steering Committee and from workshop participants, the Center prioritized the issues and selected the following five for development:

(1) Attachment and Separation
(2) Home-Based Family Centered Services
(3) Working With Black Families and Children
(4) Adolescence
(5) Permanent Planning Issues Focusing On Working With Birth Parents and Supervisory Skills

Each of the five issues will be developed in such a way that it can be incorporated into any of these four core courses:

Human Behavior In the Social Environment
Social Work Policy
Social Work Practice
Social Work Research

During the remainder of this year each issue will be developed and reviewed by the volunteer reviewers who have been recruited from the social work education programs in Region III. Final drafts of the materials related to each of the five issues will be distributed at intervals throughout the year.

PART TWO

I. Discussion of the Issue

A. Background
B. Content Issues (Chestang Article)
C. Educational/Instruction Issues

I. Discussion of the Issue: "Working With Black Families and Children"

A. Background

The Region III Child Welfare Training Center has a strong commitment toward promoting curriculum materials concerning culturally relevant social services to families and children. Moreover, in meetings of the Center's Steering Committee and in the Center's BSW/MSW curriculum workshops it has been strongly recommended that child welfare content dealing with services to black children and their families should be one of the priority curriculum projects for the Center to undertake.

Aside from these and other factors to be discussed in the following pages, the dominant rationale for the development of this suggested content is the underlying and pervasive concern of many social workers that social services to black children and their families remain grossly inadequate, inappropriate, and often poorly delivered. Although the majority of black children are located in intact family units, of the

> "502,000 children in foster care in the United States in 1977; over 185,000 or 37% were minority children. Twenty-eight percent were Black children, 5% Hispanic children, and 4% children of other minority groups such as Native American and Asian-Pacific. Yet in 1976 minority children represented only 17% of the general population under 18 years of age. Minority children, then, were to be found in foster care more than twice as frequently as white children.
>
> Of the children in foster care more than 101,000 were legally freed for adoption. Sixty-two per cent of these children were white and 37% were minority."[1]

Thus, it is important for social work educators to keep in mind that children of racial/ethnic minorities in general and black children in specific, remain in foster care for extended periods of time, in numbers disproportionate to their general numbers in the population, and have difficulty achieving a permanent home. In part, the difficulty in locating permanent homes for black children can be attributed to the social service system's lack of comprehensive knowledge about black family life.

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[1] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Children's Bureau Initiatives For the Adoption of Minority Children. April, 1981.

In the following paragraphs, Jualynne Dodson, Associate Professor, Atlanta Univeristy School of Social Work, addresses the necessity for social work practitioners and students to have a knowledge base of the traditional cultural behaviors of black people.

> "In the 1980's, the United States is still made-up of people from many differing racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Social services in America must recognize and employ the cultural strengths of its differing populations even as we move into a period of economic constraint. The human development goal and socio-economic objectives of the service professions are doomed to failure if they do not build upon the cultural strength of a people or if they violate the integrity of people's collective identity. However, social services have not led in the pursuit of factual information on the traditional cultural behaviors of the pluralistic population with whom they work. As a consequence, we still employ outdated and ethnocentric ideas about people whose culture differs from our own.
>
> Our professions seem unable to identify the knowledge which in turn identifies the parameters and behaviors of a distinct Afro-American culture. Without the conceptual clarity on a distinct black culture, our service system, public or private, shall flounder in the mire of deficit-oriented treatment and intervention approaches. To employ the cultural strengths of a people we must acquire information about their culture. With knowledge of a culture, we can employ those social work approaches and skills which give support without taking away integrity."[2]

Ms. Dodson's statement highlights the need for improving the knowledge base of students and workers with regard to traditional cultural behaviors of Afro-Americans. Although the knowledge taught in this document will be specifically about black Americans, the conceptual issues and learning process are applicable to other people and cultures.

Factual knowledge about the cultural context of a people's behavior is essential in order to provide human services that recognize the cultural integrity of a client population and that build upon the strengths of that culture. Nonetheless, the social work profession and other helping professions, until very recently, did not include cultural awareness of black families in their curriculum or in-service training. Even when material about black families and children was included in curriculum and training, it often conveyed, in subtle ways, what is viewed as the "pathology-disorganization" perspective.

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[2] Dodson, Jualynne, Inservice Education. Working With Black Families and Children. Introductory Statement, 1981.

The "pathological-disorganization view" has also been presented in the works of a number of social scientists such as E. Franklin Frazier, Horace Crayton, St. Clair Drake, Gunnar Myrdal, Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. Franklin Frazier, among the first black sociologists of national stature, published The Negro Family In the United States (1939). Frazier's conclusions in this book encouraged a view of the black family as becoming increasingly disrupted, matriarchal in nature and disorganized following their migration to the cities from the rural south. Authors who promoted his argument into modern day research and literature often failed to credit Frazier's other view concerning the black families of that period:

> "Nevertheless, those families which possess some heritage of family traditions and education will resist the destructive forces of urban life more successfully than the illiterate negro folk, and in either case their family life will adapt itself to the secular and national organization of urban life."[3]

Contrary to Frazier's acknowledgement of the strengths of black families, modern proponents of the pathological-disorganization view created a great deal of negative reaction among blacks and others to the now famous Moynihan report: The Negro Family: The Call For National Action (1965) and Beyond The Melting Pot (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). Continuing with Frazier's argument for increasing disorganization among blacks was cited the high unemployment among blacks and the generalization that the matriarchy inherited from slavery also promoted the disintegration of the current urban black family.

A second and much more recent view of black families is the "strength-resiliency" perspective which is presented in the works of such authors as Andrew Billingsley, Joyce Ladner and Robert Hill. Their views and the supporting evidence conducted by authors such as Guttman (1976), Fogel and Engerman (1974) and Pleck (1973), offer strong support for the view that black families, both historically and currently, are, in the main, two parent families and have been able to adapt to the demands of the larger society in spite of continued social, political and economic hardships in America.[4]

These contrasting views cited in the research and literature created much controversy and debate among social work educators and social scientists. Often overlooked in these debates is the nature of the research and how it was conducted. First, and perhaps most important, is that Frazier and others who followed his research work, looked for patterns that were occuring in the black culture without asking black individuals how they dealt with the pressures inherent in migration and discriminatory employment practices. The answers to how the black family survived do indeed, as later research has shown, demonstrate the strengths of black families. In short, the earlier researchers treated their respondents as objects without analyzing the subjective responses to their condition. This was also true of the Moynihan report which analyzed only census data of low income blacks and did not include middle income blacks. This limited sample was used to make generalizations about the entire black culture.

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[3] Frazier, F.E. The Negro Family In the United States, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, pgs. 367-368.

[4] For a thorough review and very useful source for the research issues see Lawrence Gary (ed.) Social Research and the Black Community: Selected Issues and Priorities, Institute of Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, 1974. (Address is listed in the Resource Section.)

These above mentioned research practices and approaches represent a deficit approach to studying blacks and other minorities. In essence, the racial-ethnic minority group is compared to the larger culture with the conclusion being that these people are "culturally impoverished" or caught in "a tangle of pathology." Non-deficit thinking attempts to see the wholeness of human activity (not just pathology) and to understand the socio-cultural validity and integrity of the group being studied. Such an approach focuses on the strengths of a culture and avoids measuring a minority group by the standards and practices of the dominant culture.

The material in this suggested content, then, encourages non-deficit thinking and approaches to problems encountered in working with black children and their families. Such an approach should assist students in understanding and avoiding some of the deficit thinking indicated by Moynihan and others, such as: "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values to guard and protect."[5] At the practice level students can and should be encouraged to analyze their own and other's class field work assignments with blacks or other minorities through the non-deficit approach. Some of the student learning exercises in this content will also assist the instructor to examine deficit and non-deficit thinking in the literature and in case studies.

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[5] Glazer, N. and P. Moynihan, The Melting Pot.

B. Content Issues

Preface

Before addressing the educational instructional issues, you and your department must deal with in using this material (See Section I-C), we felt it necessary to acquaint you with the type of content issues the core curriculum should include. To do this we have selected Leon Chestang's article (1978) which gives a comprehensive overview of the issues and problems in the provision, utilization and effectiveness of child welfare services to black children and their families. His article is incorporated for the instructor to use. Many of Chestang's policy recommendations have recently been implemented at both federal and state levels. Significant among his recommendations for an improved child welfare system for black and all children are:

1) the development of programs and policies that make a serious effort to return children to their own homes;

2) to have policy mandates requiring case review of children in the foster care system (33 states now have some form of case review policy or program);

3) the promotion of services to children in their own homes in order to avoid separating the child from the family.

The following article by Chestang provides an extremely useful overview of the issues concerning minority children and in specific, black children and their families, as they interface with the child welfare system.

THE DELIVERY OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES TO MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES

Leon W. Chestang

University of Chicago
School of Social Service Administration
Chicago

*With permission of the author, taken from Child Welfare Strategies in the Coming Years, U.S. Department of HEW, 1980 (DHEW Publication No. (OHDS) 78-30158)

INTRODUCTION

This paper identifies issues and problems in the provision, utilization and effectiveness of child welfare services to minority group children and their families, and analyzes them in the light of current literature, unpublished opinions by child welfare administrators and practitioners, and research reports. The policy and program implications of this analysis are set forth, and strategies and goals for the future are suggested. Although the focus is on black children and families, the policy implications may relate equally to children of other minority groups whose social circumstances are similar.

The field of child welfare is a specialized field of social work concerned with "providing social services to children and young people whose parents are unable to fulfill their child-rearing responsibilities, and whose communities fail to provide the resources and protection that children and families require." (Kadushin, 1974, p. 5.) This definition provides the broad perspective for focus on minority children, placing services to these groups within the aims, responsibilities and commitments of the field and the general society.

Concern with the needs of black children is both timely and relevant. Many of the issues and problems raised in relation to minority-group children, especially blacks, parallel those affecting children and families in the general population. Thus, the charges that American child welfare programs, rooted in the English Poor Laws, are less concerned with protecting children than with punishing parents; that program organization contributes to family breakdown rather than strengthening family life; and that the society pays lip service to a commitment to children are manifestations of the overall state of inadequacy and deficiency in the conception and implementation of child welfare services.

Perhaps the most comprehensive analysis of the condition of children in American society is the report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children (1970). The Commission charged that "this nation, the richest of all world powers, has no unified national commitment to its children and youth." The report also charged that we lack a meaningful investment in children at the national, community and personal levels, and as a consequence millions of American children are "ill fed, ill housed, and ill educated." Among the Commission's most striking findings is the need for mental health services by almost 10 million persons under age 25.

Kadushin suggested that child welfare services may be categorized as supportive (services that help intact families carry out their role), supplementary (services that protect the family and/or guarantee its stability), or substitutive (services that offer alternative living arrangements for children until parents are able to resume care or, when this is impossible, offer a permanent nurturing environment for children). Using this categorization, one sees increased knowledge, significant instances of improved services, and a general heightening of consciousness of the need and value of services at each of these levels. It is apparent, however, that the predominant picture is one of deficiencies, gaps and lukewarm commitment in the nation's child welfare arrangements.

If the foregoing describes the prevailing situation for children in general, the situation for black and other minority-group children is worse. This is true because of their peculiar status and condition in society and, importantly, because of the prevailing negative attitudes toward them and their families. The view that minority-group children receive insufficient, inadequate and often inappropriate services is widely held both by minority- and majority-group spokesmen.

Billingsley and Giovannoni (1972) attributed the social context surrounding the lives of blacks to the racist attitudes that limit or prevent their access to the opportunities of the society. Focusing on black adolescent girls, Ladner found that stereotyping and denigration of black women was related to racism. Poussaint and Comer (1975), commenting on racism, pointed to the social conditions--poverty, unemployment, poor housing, discrimination--under which black people live as the cause of many of their problems. A child's life chances are to a significant extent determined before his birth. Poussaint and Comer observed that black women have often carried their babies without benefit of a balanced diet and adequate medical care, and thus their children run the risk of illness, weakness and mental retardation.

At the root is racism. Almost without exception, this declaration has been made by black scholars, child welfare practitioners and men on the street.

> The system of child welfare services in this country is failing black children. It is our thesis that the failure is a manifest result of racism; that racism has pervaded the development of the system of services; and that racism persists in its present operation.

> . . . Racism manifests itself in the present system of services in three major ways: 1) the kinds of services developed are not sufficient to the special situation of black children; 2) within the system that has developed, black children are not treated equitably; and 3) efforts to change the system have been incomplete and abortive. (Billingsley and Giovannoni, 1972, p. 3)

The debate over transracial adoption provides a telling example of the concerns of blacks about racism, highlighting what blacks perceive as the deficiencies, gaps and inconsistencies in the child welfare system, and how these are related to their condition in society, whether or not one agrees with the view of many black professionals and laymen (that transracial adoption posed "a growing threat to the preservation of the black family" (New York Times, April 9, 1972)).

Given the goal of the child welfare field to enable families within a pluralistic society to provide a nurturing environment for children, this discussion will clarify the conflict between the child welfare needs of black and other minority-group children and families and the goals of the field, as well as the discrepancy between policy and practice in child welfare programs.

The provision of strategic approaches and resources to increase the adequacy of child rearing is seriously lacking in child welfare programs serving minority populations. The roots of this deficiency can be found in the philosophy and implementation of social policies dealing with income maintenance programs. This philosophy holds, in essence, that limited spending for grants to families will enhance incentive, while meeting full financial need will destroy it. Jones (1975) pointed to several pernicious effects of this approach: 1) the social worker is reduced to being a buffer between the client and the larger social system, assisting the client to adjust to unsatisfactory living conditions; 2) direct practice methods are thus limited to emphasis on the client's "personal" problems, with little or no attention to community action and social strategy, etc.; 3) unrealistic solutions, such as emphasis on jobs when none exist, especially for unskilled minority group persons, are attempted; and 4) programs are left with a focus on family planning and/or problems considered the result of the minority person's "deprived" or "deviant" life style.

Child welfare programs stemming from such a philosophy are destined to fail because their premise is faulty. Evidence for this conclusion is found in a report by Fanshel and Grundy (1975), who surveyed the child welfare program in New York City. The report described the condition of blacks and other minorities in the child welfare system, and questioned the field's real commitment to preservation of the natural family by supporting it. A striking and relevant finding was that among the nearly 27,000 children in care in New York, one out of two is black and one out of four is Puerto Rican. Over 80% of the children in care in New York are black or members of other minority groups. That blacks are disproportionately represented in the child welfare system was shown again in a 1973 national survey by the Boys and Girls Aid Society of Eugene, Oregon. This study revealed that although black children totaled less than 20% of the children adopted in 1973, they composed 40% of the backlog of children waiting for adoption. (Quoted in Black Child Development Institute [BCDI], October 1974.) A major goal of child welfare is assuring and protecting the right of every child to a nurturing environment. The first order of defense in this connection is the restoration of the natural family. Given Fanshel and Grundy's finding that the mean number of years in care for children in New York exceeded five years, and Kadushin's finding that the older children whom he studied spent an average of three and one-half years in foster care prior to adoption, and given the evidence that black and other minority children are overrepresented among these children, the spirit and goal of restoring the natural family face a serious challenge. Specifically, one sees a serious gap between the goals of setting specific time limits for substitute care and providing effective review of the progress of the family.

An area in which the goals of child welfare and the needs of minorities are at odds is in the development of objective and feasible criteria by which family dysfunction may be recognized. The failure to develop these means has been recounted on numerous platforms and in the literature. (Joint Commission on Children, 1970; Chestang, 1971; New York Times, 1972; Finley, 1973; Jones, 1973, 1975; and Silcott, 1975.) The central theme emphasizes the misrepresentations, misunderstandings and distortions of black family life and the relationship between these and the inadequacy of child welfare services. Billingsley (1968) sought to dispel some of the myths and distortions about black families by showing that these families are embedded in an inequitable social system. Jones (1975) and Silcott (1975) made similar points. The core issue is the removal from their homes of black and other minority-group children because of neglect or abuse, when the basic cause of the family's dysfunction is poverty. Social agencies and their agents, acting on the presumption that poverty and its attendant conditions necessarily warrant removal of children in effect subject these families to standards more rigorous than those for families in general. The collective racism of the society and the individual racism of some practitioners may play a role in this situation, but beyond this we are without objective and feasible means of identifying real family dysfunction.

The problem is aggravated by the failure of many agencies to equip their staffs with adequate knowledge about black and other minority groups, family styles and social organization. When the deficiency of financial resources and the disproportionate number of minority families in the child welfare system combine with negative attitudes and the ignorance of staff regarding these groups, the goals of child welfare as related to minorities become abstract ideals without the possibility of realization.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND ASSUMPTIONS

The basic premise of this paper is that black and other minority-group children and their families are in need of the same range of services required by all children and families in society. The status of black children and families in the child welfare system, however, cannot be discussed apart from their status and condition in the society at large. Over the last decade, the literature has been replete with discussion of the impact of the social inequities confronting black and other minority children and families. (Jenkins and Morrison, 1974.) This writer (1972) suggested that the social problems confronting black people can be categorized as follows: social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence. These three conditions, together with a style of coping and adapting to their negative effects, compose the essence of the black experience. Through an examination of these conditions, we can sharpen our understanding of black culture and its importance in planning child welfare services for this group. Much of the current research in child development and cultural anthropology suggests that minority populations, including their cultures and personality traits, are best understood not by traits or categories, but through a description of the relationships between them and their social environments. Approaches to personality theory that seek to understand people by listings of traits are not useful. W. Mischel (1968) noted the clear finding of contemporary personality psychology that every person responds differently to the same objective stimulus.

How then shall we find our way through the maze of individual differences to a path that gives consistency to our understanding of the relationships between the minority person's culture and character and his social environment? The writer suggests that we strive for clearer and more precise descriptions of the process by which the minority person deals with the conditions surrounding his existence.

Social injustice refers to the denial of legal rights. Although in recent years there has been a diminution of the more flagrant displays of this form of discrimination, there remains ample evidence of its presence. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and myriad affirmative-action programs suggest that the heritage of segregation and Jim Crow is still a potent infringement on the legal rights of black people, though discrimination is expressed in politer form. Social injustice further implies lapses in implementing the legal protection mandated by the Constitution and numerous federal and state codes.

The effect of these lapses is to limit the access of blacks and other minority groups to opportunities for employment, health care, education and, in many instances, equal protection before the courts. Evidence for these assertions is seen in a comparison of median incomes of black and white families. In 1969, 50% of black families, compared with 17% of white families, had incomes below the poverty line. (Profiles of Children, 1970.) Poverty is a pernicious condition that threatens the physical as well as the psychological well-being of blacks. The rate of maternal deaths among blacks per 100,000 live births was twice that for the white population. Similarly, while the infant mortality rate has been declining since 1940, blacks are behind here, too, by about 15%. (Profiles of Children, 1970.) If we assume the importance of care by the mother during the first years of life, here again we find a disparity between black and white children. The proportion of black mothers in the labor force whose children under age 3 must be cared for while she works exceeds by nearly 100% the proportion of such white mothers. Similar differences in the relative status of black and white families can be found in almost every area (The Social and Economic Condition of the Black Population in the U.S. (1972)). Significant improvements have been made in the last decade, but unequal opportunity and unequal treatment of blacks in American society persist.

Societal inconsistency refers to the more subtle destructive forces in society, denoting the sense of personal rejection of black persons through the manners, morals and traditions of society, and expressing the rejection of blacks through informal means in person-to-person transactions. It is important to distinguish between social injustice and societal inconsistency because although the former can potentially be redressed in the courts, the latter represents negative attitudes, held by many members of the dominant society, not subject to change by legal intervention. Negative attitudes are a critical aspect of the black condition, because they are experienced by blacks as personal assaults on self-image and self-esteem. Confronted by social injustice, the black person can retreat to group supports and the protection of his awareness that he, as an individual, is not singled out for disparagement and denigration. In the case of societal inconsistency, however, the individual must consider alone the implications of the aspersions cast on his personal sense of value, worth and dignity.

A sense of personal impotence is the consequence of exposure to social injustice and societal inconsistency. It not only diminishes feelings of autonomy and self-worth, but generates feelings of fear, inadequacy and insecurity in blacks regardless of social class, although these feelings are behaviorally more apparent among the poor.

Black persons have had to develop patterns of response that allow them to diminish or otherwise cope with the deleterious and corrosive effects of these conditions on their dignity as human beings. It is these patterns of response that are the essence of black culture.

The black person finds emotional solace within the black community. Here are the comforts of family, the protections of supportive institutions such as churches, fraternal organizations and civil rights groups. Here the black person has an opportunity to build self-esteem through the exercise of talents and skills, to develop a sense of personal identity through enduring relationships with family, friends and significant others, and to struggle in the company of others who face common barriers to the pursuit of a better life. These assets are not to be underestimated in their contribution to the sense of competence and efficacy that the black person gains through functioning in the black community. In another article (in press) this writer has used the term nurturing environment to summarize these critical inputs. The peculiar position of blacks in American society, however, renders these valuable inputs palliative rather than antidotal, for the black is not a marginal person living fully within one world and on the fringes of the other. The black is instead a bicultural person required by circumstance and for survival to dwell in two worlds, the world of black community and the wider society.

A special quality, then, of the black experience is the imperative to dwell in two cultures. The wider society houses and controls those features of culture necessary for physical survival, i.e., goods and services, political power, economic resources and education. Were it not for this, blacks could conceivably function without significant interaction with the wider society. It is questionable, however, whether this could be achieved, or, if it could, whether a majority of blacks would find it desirable. But there is still another reason that militates against the election of that course by a significant number of black persons. This reason is related to the long history of blacks in this country, a history that includes the eradication of their own heritage through slavery and, some historians say, the even more profound denigration of blacks during Reconstruction. According to Fogel and Engerman (1974), as early as 1780 the majority of slaves had been in this country for five generations. They concluded that because of the proscriptions against speaking their own languages, adhering to their old-world traditions, or continuing former patterns of social organization, blacks were forced to adapt to the only culture they knew. Herskovits (1958, p. 120) in his Myth of the Negro Past, reached a similar conclusion. It can be said that blacks are members of their own society and members of the wider society at the same time.

The eradication or attenuation of the African heritage does not completely explain the duality of black culture. Black participation in the dominant culture involves the recognition of the constraints on the black person's pursuit of the wider society's cultural aims. The black person is in the peculiar position of being a bearer of a culture under constraint of circumscribed and conditioned participation in it. This situation leads to a split in the acculturative process that is reflected in a duality of response.

In his nurturing environment, i.e., the black community, his needs for dignity, self-esteem and worth are met, and he invests himself emotionally in its values, traditions, and other forms of social commitment. But because he is aware of the limits on his participation in the wider world, he makes an instrumental adaptation to it--one of pragmatism, cynicism and distrust; he develops a utilitarian posture in relation to its rejection and denigration. Black culture represents the characteristic forms used by blacks in that adaptive process.

Silcott's charge (1975) that black children are subjected to unnecessary placements that serve institutional interests rather than family interests; Jones' analysis (1975) suggesting that the need of money is often the root of the evil of placement of black children; and Fanshel and Grundy's survey showing the disproportionate number of blacks and other minorities in New York City's child welfare system are evidence in support of the idea that discrepancies exist between child welfare goals and child welfare practice. These discrepancies are perpetuated by a system of myths and misconceptions about members of this group and their culture, stemming from a failure to understand the relationship between the social conditions under which black people live and the cultural forms that have been developed as a means of coping with those conditions. This misunderstanding has led to inappropriate and prejudicial perceptions of black people as a group. (Billingsley, 1968, pp. 21-31.) Black children and families in the child welfare system are affected by these myths to an inordinate degree. Indeed, it has been suggested by some observers (Billingsley and Giovannoni, 1972; Jones, 1973; BCDI, 1974; and Silcott, 1975) that these misconceptions are responsible for the entry into the system of many black children and families. Convincing evidence that supports this contention is contained in Marvin Wolfgang's longitudinal study, Delinquency in a Birth Cohort, in which he commented:

> As we pursued analysis of the available data, we became increasingly aware of the differential dispositions based on race. Not all factors that enter into decisions of police officers are known or available to us. . . . But however we split and spliced the material at hand, nonwhites regularly received more severe dispositions. (Wolfgang, 1972, p. 128.)

This comment concerned the juvenile justice system. In other areas of child welfare practice, racial stereotypes and prejudices operate in ways that are not so well documented, but are equally harmful in their consequences.

Myths about black families, black child-rearing patterns, and black culture are the most pervasive ones, and have their greatest impact on child welfare services to this group. Large numbers of black children grow up in single-parent families, and it has been shown that low income is most prevalent in families headed by females. (Profiles of Children, 1970, p. 22; Snapper, 1975, pp. 8-12.) These observations have been used to make two related points: 1) that the single-parent family is inherently unfavorable to a child's development, and 2) that the black family, in the main, is in a state of disorganization. (U.S. Government, Department of Labor, 1965.) Although there is a large amount of evidence that disproves these contentions (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1971; and Scanzoni, 1971), the "disorganized black family" myth still persists and affects child welfare practice. Some observers (Finley, 1973; Jones, 1975; and Silcott, 1975) contend that black children are unnecessarily removed from their homes on the assumption of poor parenting. This assumption is attributed to cultural and value differences between black consumers and white providers of service. Although the assumption of poor parenting has not been documented, the socioeconomic disadvantage of black families, combined with their low status, makes the assumption appear plausible. It is buttressed by certain other considerations: black and other minority males are four times more likely to contract tuberculosis than their white counterparts (Profiles of Children, 1970, p. 27); black and other minority mothers are more likely to die in childbirth--three times more likely--than their white counterparts (p. 40); and black and other minority infants are more likely to die than white babies (p. 47). That minority status, compared with the position of whites, is associated with a host of other disadvantages was summarized by Kadushin as follows:

> Life expectancy is lower; median income is lower; lifetime earnings are lower; level of educational achievement is lower; frequency of accessibility to adequate medical care is lower; accessibility to higher status jobs is lower; home ownership is lower; the percentage of the group covered by any kind of health insurance is lower. (1974, p. 67.)

It is this generally unfavorable position of black families in relation to social institutions--especially those involving economic considerations--that has led to a unity among black leaders in calling for improvement in the economic status of black families as the most viable antidote to the myths about their dysfunctionality. Poverty, not poor parenting, is at the root of many of the child welfare and other social problems faced by these groups. Poverty, not paternal absence, is a better explanation for family disorganization among these groups. And again, it is poverty, not cultural deprivation, that limits the opportunity of black children and children of other minority groups to engage in activities that enhance their future.

The double jeopardy of racism and poverty, then, is the fundamental problem confronting minority groups, and any meaningful efforts to solve the problem must address these factors. Wide recognition of the role played by racism and poverty in the development of black family structure, child-rearing patterns and other cultural forms would significantly dispel the common perception of these forms as deviant.

The various structures manifest among many black families (Billingsley identified types) represent attempts to deal with poverty and racism. Families that include relatives and friends, families headed by females, and families whose major source of income is public welfare do not support the myth of deviancy. These family structures are necessary for survival in a hostile environment, and they show the range of adaptive strategies used by black families to cope with their social circumstances.

Similarly, the commonly observed early independence of black children, their capacity for self-care at a tender age, has been misconstrued as evidence of parental neglect. The mothers of black and other minority children represent the highest proportion of mothers in the labor force. (Profiles of Children, 1970, p. 62.)

They work to survive. Our point is not to endorse parental absence from their children, but to reject the assumption of parental culpability, and place the blame where it belongs--on the social conditions under which these families live. In this connection it may be noted that risk factors for all families, whether mothers are employed or not, are highly associated with fathers' incomes. An income under $7000 doubles the chances that mothers will be employed, and, since the median income of half of all black families was below that figure in 1969, it is probable that the proportion of black children whose mothers are working far exceeded that for white children. (Profiles of Children, 1970, p. 61.) Thus any disparity between black and white mothers as to their availability to their children must be attributed more to necessity than neglect. Further, if children whose mothers are absent because of employment learn early to care for themselves, it is to their credit. For them not to do so would certainly increase their hardships.

It should not be concluded that black children are left to their own devices in their mothers' absence. The varieties of child care arrangements used by families in general are used by these families. And more: there is the network of kinship and other relationships within the community that serves to monitor, admonish, discipline and protect children. The value of this network is not to be underestimated. The decline in its effectiveness due to urbanization and other social changes does not mean that it has ceased operation. What is called for is an increased support of this cultural instrument by the child welfare establishment.

CURRENT NEEDS

This paper has described the status of black and other minority children in some detail. The implication of that status is the need for increased commitment to the needs of minorities by the federal government. Such commitment must first be felt, then translated into action. How can this be done? Although the child welfare establishment cannot "take on" the society, it can assure that commitment to children, particularly to minority children, becomes the hallmark of its programs. Minority children need an advocate at the federal level.

Their interests involve, among other considerations, support for natural families, whatever their structure. This is important in the light of what we know about black adaptive patterns and the central place we assign to the family unit. Support for the natural family is also important to prevent the necessity for intervention by external sources. Minority families especially need help before they are overwhelmed by poverty's effects.

Among the supports needed are the following: 1) provision of income levels adequate to meet basic needs in a manner in keeping with dignity; 2) child care to aid minority mothers at times of crises (day care services and homemaker services are much needed but scarcely available); and 3) affirmation of the role of all mothers, but especially minority mothers. Bronfenbrenner (1976) observed that institutional supports for the maternal role and functions are woefully lacking in American society. This problem is heightened for the minority mother. Because she is often poor and must frequently seek public assistance, she is literally driven from her children by governmental policies that require her to find employment. Reversing this situation would entail developing programs that encourage and facilitate care of children by their own parents. Such programs should reduce the pressure for employment as a condition for financial assistance to mothers of children under age 6.

Many black and other minority group children inevitably require child welfare services because of the social impingements of their lives (although some of these families, like all families, are unable or unwilling to care for their children). The aim of the child welfare field to return children to their natural families is far from achievement, especially for black and other minority group children. A major need is to develop programs that take seriously the goal of returning children. This will require support at the national level--support reflected in policies that encourage family autonomy and specify conditions under which it is necessary to remove a child. Wald and Burt (in press) would limit coercive intervention to specific conditions and require agencies to show what actions had been taken to relieve the situation. Removal would be a last resort, and permanency for the placed child either through return to his own family or termination of parental rights would be the goal.

The history of adoption for black children has not been encouraging, and the needs of minority children and families are pressing. Many agencies have resisted the changes necessary if significant numbers of black children are to be placed in adoptive homes. In this field the problems in status, standards and staff as they pertain to black children find their most flagrant expression. In some periods of history the black child has been excluded, defined as unplaceable, or viewed as hard-to-place. Currently there are efforts at reform, but they are far from adequate. (Billingsley and Giovannoni, 1972, pp. 141-209.) Today's critical needs, identified over 30 years ago, are for adoption programs and standards sensitive to the black culture. Such programs would take into account black attitudes toward adoption and black perceptions of agencies, and would operate from standards that are realistic in terms of the black subculture.

During recent years when traditional agencies began to seek reforms in their adoption programs, transracial adoption was introduced to increase placement opportunities for black children. Two outcomes of the ensuing debate point to current needs. The first was a decline in transracial placements as a result of the opposition of black professionals and organizations. The second was a rash of studies that sought to determine whether transracial adoption had the consequences black opponents predicted.

The Grow-Shapiro study, done under the auspices of the Child Welfare League of America, is the best known. Since the children studied were still in their early school years, this report was not able to give a "definitive answer to the question whether white adoptive parents can deal successfully with the problem of racial identity." (1974, p. 234.) The CWLA has also concluded that "recruitment of nonwhite homes has a long way to go to match or exceed the number of nonwhite children accepted." (Grow-Shapiro, 1974, p. 235.) Given both the unsettled question of whether transracial adoption is negative in its ultimate consequences for children, and the difficulty of getting the system to recruit black families to match the needs for homes, further study and experimentation are needed. Longitudinal studies to determine the long-range impact of transracial adoption on identity formation are called for. Support is needed for recruitment projects that set requirements realistic in terms of the black experience (i.e., setting flexible age requirements, abandoning sterility requirements, dropping the ban on employment of wives, basing placement on adequacy of living conditions, not on quality of neighborhoods; making fees flexible, and so forth).

Inservice training programs with content specifically related to the historical and cultural backgrounds of blacks and other minorities are needed. Staff at all levels, from administration to paraprofessionals, should be involved. The training should integrate theories of human behavior with concepts derived from practice experience with minority groups.

Since large numbers of child welfare personnel enter the field without professional education, training in basic social work concepts is essential, including case management, child and adolescent development, and decision making in foster care and adoptions to increase knowledge and skill in work with all children and families.

The foregoing recommendations apply equally to the voluntary sector and the public sector, although currently most of the children in the child welfare system are cared for by public agencies. The increase in purchase-of-care arrangements, however, makes it urgent that voluntary agencies review their programs, policies and practices as these relate to minorities, especially in the large cities.

The structure of traditional agency programs often hinders access to services by many members of minority groups. Historically, these agencies have been located at great distances from the neighborhoods in which minorities live, although there have been some changes recently. What Billingsley and Giovannoni have called "professionalism" is another obstacle to minority populations in using voluntary agencies. Focused on formal, office-based practices, these agencies are viewed as inhospitable by many minority persons who are more comfortable with relaxed, informal interaction. Flexibility in office hours, administrative procedures, and requirements for eligibility is called for.

To remedy some of these problems, many public and voluntary agencies have opened branches or begun projects that target black and other minority communities. Some of these efforts have been notably effective; most, however, have been hampered by inadequate financing, inadequate and/or inappropriate staffing, and constraints imposed by governmental and other nonagency administrative bodies. For example, some projects are funded for only 1 or 2 years, and must be terminated when funding runs out, even when the project is effective. The result is to heighten the distrust, suspicion and hostility felt by the groups served toward their transient benefactors.

Confidence, trust and respect--essential to meaningful working relationships with any group, but especially minority groups--are enhanced when members of the racial or ethnic group are represented on the staff. In the past, and to some extent today, discriminatory hiring practices have excluded members of minority groups. The relatively few professionally trained persons from minority groups have elected to work in community-oriented programs. If public and voluntary direct service agencies are to attract minority staff, they will have to demonstrate their interest through aggressive recruitment efforts and financial aid to minority persons for professional education.

CURRENT APPROACHES TO MEETING NEEDS

Current approaches to meeting needs can be categorized as traditional agency-initiated programs, programs developed by specific minority groups, and programs jointly organized by traditional agencies and representatives of specific minority populations. These efforts have met with varying success.

During the 1960s there was a proliferation of programs by traditional agencies with the stated purpose of serving minority children and families. These were of two types: foster home recruitment projects, and adoption programs that emphasized finding homes for older children. Some of these programs showed what could be achieved when resources and commitment were combined.

Use of the radio, television, newspapers and billboards to stimulate interest in foster care and adoption was highly successful in some instances. Flexibility in eligibility requirements, especially in reducing or waiving of fees for adoption; acceptance of the single parent or older couples as adoptive applicants; encouragement of leadership and input of minority staff--all produced some gains. Too few agencies, however, adopted these practices. Some black social workers have reported that agencies resist making such changes. (NABSW, 1972; Jones, 1973; Silcott, 1975.)

The satellite agency has been another strategy used by traditional agencies, as illustrated by the Los Angeles County Department of Adoption and the Spence-Chapin Adoption Service. Although there has been significant progress as a result of these efforts to locate in the black community with a predominantly black staff, gains have been lessened by conflict with the parent agency over policies and program emphasis. (Billingsley and Giovannoni, 1972, pp. 113-148.)

A project initiated by Child and Family Services of Chicago represents a different approach to the satellite agency. This agency provides homemaker service as a means of preventing children's entry into the child welfare system. The parent agency's conception of the needs of the black community it served was vastly altered in the course of explorations with the community prior to beginning the service. The agency had thought that service to intact families and to the elderly was a logical focus, but quickly learned that this community also desired services to the young unmarried mother who wanted to return to high school. This project continues to function under the writer's leadership, supervised by a board made up of community residents and staffed with personnel largely from the community served. It is noteworthy that this type of involvement of the local community has resulted in the community board's active participation in fund raising for its program and for the agency at large. The members of such projects should be increased, since they not only prevent removal of children from their homes, but involve the community in a meaningful way.

Programs organized and developed by black professional and lay persons are still another form that current efforts to meet the needs of minorities have taken. These programs stress advocacy on behalf of their clients by intervening for them to assure that traditional agencies provide mandated services. Intervention by these programs on behalf of families and children with public assistance agencies, juvenile courts, housing authorities, etc., provides a much needed function.

In many instances agencies developed and controlled by blacks have served an interpretative and/or pilot function in relation to traditional agencies. In these roles, the minority-sponsored agency seeks to have its own procedures adopted by traditional agencies.

Some programs have been jointly organized by traditional agencies and representatives of minority populations. These programs usually are initiated by minority staff working in traditional agencies. The Homes for Black Children in Detroit (which has become black controlled) and the Black Adoption Project in Kansas City, Kansas, exemplify this approach.

CURRENT AND FUTURE UNMET NEEDS

Since traditional agencies serve a variety of constituencies, it is understandable they have been reluctant to allocate a significant portion of their resources to black and other minority groups. If they are to address the problems outlined in this paper, it will be necessary for both federal and state agencies to make funds available for this purpose.

The persistence of insensitivity and, in some cases, negative attitudes on the part of staff in traditional agencies also accounts for the lack of focus on the service needs of minorities. In addition, some traditional agencies have used the emergence of programs organized by black and other minority groups as a reason to decrease services to minorities. It should be recognized that programs organized by minority groups were not intended to replace services provided by traditional agencies. This is true if only because minority organized programs are insufficiently funded for such a grand undertaking.

There is a continuing need for traditional agencies to evaluate their organizational style in the light of the experience of blacks and other minorities in American society and the cultural forms that developed out of that experience. Some traditional agencies have attempted to serve minority groups by transferring their old procedures to a new community. This approach is not generally effective.

Recruitment and training of minority staff is a pressing need, and is likely to continue to be so, given the current economic situation. Cutbacks in funding for training of social workers have affected all social work personnel, but especially minority personnel.

Reduction of caseloads, especially in public agencies, must be effected if staff are to have time to focus on the needs of minority children and families. It is not unreasonable to expect direct service caseloads to be limited to 30 cases per worker. With larger caseloads, many children go without contact with their worker for long periods, and families are deprived of the rehabilitative activities of the worker. Again, financing is a central issue.

Inservice training on a regular, systematic and substantive basis is a primary need. Such training should deal with practice principles as these relate to work with minorities. Competent training personnel should be retained on a consultative basis and, where possible, cooperative training ventures with universities should be developed. The training should be required to include content specific to cultures of the minority groups served.

ISSUES RELATING TO PROGRAMS AND NEEDS

A central policy issue relates to maintaining children in their own home versus intervention through placement. In serving minorities, there is a necessity for a commitment to maintaining children in their own homes as a meaningful social policy. The financing of services to families and children in their own homes should receive equal attention to the financing of placement services. This will require that placement be viewed as a last resort.

To ensure effective efforts to maintain children in their own homes, case review must be mandated as public policy. In addition, accountability of public and voluntary agencies through a national administrative body should be required. State plans should be required to guarantee adherence to the policy of maintaining children in their own homes whenever it is possible. Case review and staff training in minority cultural patterns should be a condition for receipt of federal funds. Federally funded inservice training programs and professional schools should be required to include in their educational programs content relative to minorities.

Since minority and ethnic populations make up a significant proportion of consumers of child welfare services, programs targeting these groups should become a major focus of public and voluntary agencies. If such programs are to be effective, however, accountability through goal-oriented programs (as opposed to the more traditional rehabilitation approach) has important implications for minorities. Requirements such as those in Title XX relative to establishment of objectives are promising, but these procedures should be refined. One aim of revision in current goal-setting tactics should be to reduce the paperwork required of child welfare staff, so that it will not detract from service to clients.

Special projects developed by minorities that show promise of achieving objectives should be encouraged. Priority attention should be given to developing imaginative foster home and adoptive home recruitment programs and techniques for working with natural parents.

Organizational issues center on the redirection and augmentation of services to help families before and after placement. To ensure that such help is readily available to families who need it, three criteria are essential in programs targeting minority communities: proximity, relevance and community participation. Proximity is important for the obvious reason that services located in one's own community are more readily available. In addition, minority and ethnic communities are likely to perceive services located within their own communities as more specific to their needs. Relevance speaks to policies and structures that fit the minority experience; programs should be organized in a flexible, informal and dignified fashion, and the services offered should relate to needs as defined by the consumer. Community participation has to do with local authority and control. It is especially important that insights contributed by members of minority groups be utilized to the fullest.

Program evaluation and research in areas in which our knowledge is limited are important in any child welfare program. In relation to minorities, there is a need to compile and analyze literature on specific service strategies. This is particularly pertinent because there has been an increasing number of proposals for intervention strategies, some of which have dubious foundations. For example, in the field of early childhood education and development considerable energy is being directed toward raising the IQ of minority children. Although this is important, the social and emotional growth of these children is of equal importance. In this connection, there is a need for qualitative studies of the function and meaning of cultural practices among the various minority groups, since many hypotheses and intervention strategies have been developed without solid grounding in the meaning of these cultural forms. Finally, research into the effectiveness of service strategies that have emerged over the last decade is necessary.

RECOMMENDED STRATEGY AND APPROACH

A central concern of members of minority groups is their lack of opportunity to influence policy at its most basic level, the level of policy formulation, as contrasted with program development and implementation. The recommendations offered here fall into two categories: 1) those pertaining to actions that should be taken at the policy formulation stage, and 2) those pertaining to actions that address program reform and program implementation.

On the policy formulation level:

- High priority should be given to legislation providing an adequate income level for all children and families. Existing proposals for family allowances and children's allowances are illustrative of the kind of mechanism through which this might be achieved.

- Greater coordination and integration among the various systems serving children and families must be achieved. Income maintenance, health and mental health, education and other such programs should be organized in a fashion to insure that the needs of families and children are not subordinated to bureaucratic interests. Need should be the prime criterion for availability of service. The present fragmentation of these services inevitably leads to stopgap measures, rather than comprehensive strategies for intervention.

- Child welfare services should give focused and relevant attention to the needs of minority children.

- In keeping with the analysis offered in this paper that blacks (and probably other minorities as well) live in two worlds, i.e., a nurturing and a sustaining environment, the value and the function of the nurturing environment should be reflected in child welfare policies. Thus, child welfare programs should strive first to strengthen and enhance life within this immediate context through actions such as those recommended in this paper.

Although the formulation of basic policies such as those recommended here is integral to the delivery of child welfare services to minority groups, the goal of program organization and structure should be to increase the utilization and the effectiveness of services to minority group children and families. Measures must be taken at the program level to ensure that their race or ethnicity is not the major cause of stress. The recommendations that follow are intended to enhance the quality of their lives within their nurturing environment and to protect them when they must leave it.

· Child welfare staff should be required to make every effort to maintain children in their own homes. Voluntary agencies holding contracts with state and other local units should be held to the same requirement.

· Conditions under which children are to be removed from their homes should be specified. Agencies should be required to show that the need for removal has been established.

· In funding child welfare programs, equal attention should be given to maintaining children in their own homes as is given to substitute care. This proposal should not detract from the development of specialized services for children in care. It aims to ensure that where possible the nurturing environment will be maintained.

Program policies should protect minority children and families from the deleterious effects of racism as it is reflected in social agency structure, administrative procedures, staffing patterns and the attitudes and behavior of some staff members. The recommendations that follow could result in improved services to all families and children who are currently served, but their implications are especially pertinent to minorities.

· The granting of federal monies should be contingent upon state and local units meeting requirements that programs be proximal to the minority community, be relevant to needs defined by the minority group, and have a viable mechanism for minority input into the development of objectives and procedures. Minority input into the policy-making arm of the state or local administrative body should also be required.

· To ensure that minority group interests are protected within agencies, adequate representation by members of such groups on policy-making boards should be required as a condition for receipt of federal funds and state contracts for service.

· Ongoing review of the foregoing standards and goals should be conducted internally by the state or other local unit.

· Case review at all levels, aimed at protecting the rights of minority children to competent care in substitute nurturing environments, should be required. Case review teams composed of interdisciplinary units, including nonagency minority volunteers, should be established.

- Priority attention should be given to obtaining substitute care within their nurturing environments for black and other minority group children.

- The use of interstate adoption and subsidized adoption as means of obtaining homes for minority children within their nurturing environments should be established as a priority.

- Legal representation for children and families in judicial and quasi-judicial proceedings should be guaranteed, in part to protect minority group children from subjective actions by courts and professional workers.

- The level of payments to foster parents for long-term and specialized foster care should be increased. Because long-term foster care is necessary for some children, specific criteria should be established for determining which children require such care.

- To increase the number of minority staff, stipends for special training in schools of social work should be expanded.

- Develop a syllabus for inservice training relative to minority groups. The syllabus should specify general principles for all ethnic groups and outline content specific to particular groups. It should be distributed to public and voluntary child welfare agencies at national, state and local levels.

- Research projects to enhance understanding of the cultural styles of minority groups should be funded.

- Machinery should be developed to assure a sound financial base to minority-group-initiated programs that show promise of achieving specific goals.

- Schools of social work at both the graduate and undergraduate levels and social agencies should be encouraged to use Title XX funds to develop models of comprehensive child welfare services.

CONCLUSION

The recommendations offered in this paper flow from an analysis that suggests that the child welfare problems of black and other minority-group children and families stem from their condition in society, a condition characterized by social injustice, discriminatory practices and the inability of members of these groups to influence the social systems, including child welfare, that impinge on their lives. Fundamentally, the needs and problems of minority-group children, as these concern child welfare, parallel those of all children and families in society. Minority status, however, heightens the needs and, in large measure, gives rise to many of the unique social problems faced by these groups. Therefore, the proposals for improvement focus on these groups. However, not until the twin barriers of poverty and racism are removed will any of the efforts outlined here deal effectively with the problems they address. For basic effectiveness, the active support of the federal government and public and private advocacy groups is crucial. Through solution of minority-group child welfare problems, not only will the lives of these children and families be improved, but the quality of life for all members of society will be enhanced.

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C. Education-Instruction Issues

C. Education - Instruction Issues

Although schools of social work already have, as one of their goals, the incorporation of information about black children and families within the existing curriculum, the extent to which they are able to do so is dependent upon a number of variables. Among some of the more important are: the overall objectives of a particular school, the geographic location, the size and composition of the school's minority faculty and students,[3] and the method by which a school chooses to incorporate culturally relevant knowledge - competence. The latter has received considerable attention in the social work education literature of recent years.[4] The significance of these influences cannot be denied and each school or agency will need to carefully assess those factors when considering the use of these materials. Finally, each school cannot avoid, in their review and rational, the most important ingredient of all namely, the extent to which the school is committed to incorporating and developing these and other materials about black children and their families into the curriculum.

Some of the options for including black minority content are the following:

1. Black children and family content in a separate course.
2. Specialized minority content including black culture, covering several cultural groups in one course.
3. Black/minority content integrated into core courses.
4. Various racial - ethnic/minority content including black culture, integrated into core courses supplemented with specialized courses such as option #1.
5. Use of a "guest lecturer" (i.e. a colleague) who has knowledge about black families.

It should not go unnoticed that agencies designing in-service training programs about cultural issues also have to deal with these same issues with perhaps more concern for the time and money allowed by the agency to do in-service training in general.

Any instructor who introduces culturally relevant materials into the curriculum must also consider which major concepts should be emphasized and the strategy or approach in delivering the material. Although this is a more serious concern for instructors who teach an entire course on ethnic cultural content it also has importance for those teaching core courses. One of the difficulties in focusing our attention and education on any one cultural group is that students may feel that the instructor is teaching the "uniquness" of one culture to the exclusion of others. Sometimes, resulting in unnecessary resistence or lack of objectivity in the student's learning process. In fact, many of the characteristics of black families may be similar to families in other cultures. The intent is to teach the significance of the Afro-American family characteristics, the basis for these traits, and how they influence the black parent or child's behavior. The intent is not to imply that a particular trait is found only in the Afro-American culture.

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[3] Baker, Cynthia. Work With Urban Black Families. New Orleans, Louisianna, Region VI Child Welfare Training Center, 1981, p.2.

[4] For those of you who would like to review, in greater detail, the recent thinking on these issues we have included a bibliography at the end of this section.

It may be helpful then, to begin the introduction of culturally specific content with an overview which recognizes that all racial-ethnic minority groups have experienced difficulties with the dominant culture and to offer readings and lecture material that highlight these facts. For example, this introductory content might include exposing the student to general "universal" notions about racial-ethnic-cultural commonalities. There is general agreement among scholars who analyze the conceptual issues that there are four "universals:"

> 1. "Cultural conflict (divergent value basis) creates a dichotomy between minority and majority cultures.
>
> 2. Negative impact of inequality.
>
> 3. Negative valuation of minority cultures by the majority culture.
>
> 4. Desirability of cultural pluralism vs. cultural homogenizing."[5]

The importance of the inclusion of such universals in presenting this material is that: 1) it provides a foundation from which the student can analyze and appreciate the problems and struggles of all racial-ethnic minority groups, 2) assists the student in identifying with these universals before proceeding to focus on the specifics of the black culture and its interface with the child welfare system. The latter enables the student to view black children and their families within this larger framework in such a way as to enable them to approach specific cultural content with greater objectivity.

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[5] Brown, E.F. and B.B. Gilbert. Social Work Practice With American Indians. A scheme for the Identification and Inclusions of American Indian Content Into the Social Work Curriculum. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, 1978, 66 pp.

The importance of having students incorporate a specifically focused knowledge-competency foundation that will enable them to effectively serve black children and their families is supported by Norton's (1978) statement:

> "Social workers must have specific knowledge about the group which they are involved in. One cannot assess correctly without specific cultural knowledge of the nuturing environment...the social worker should be familar with the specifics of group life, the values and attitudes of the group in forming that life and the attitudes of the dominant society."[6]

Knowledge about the specifics of the black culture, then, are a primary concern of this material. Although there has been a growing body of literature about black children and their families, some of the early literature and social service research tended to promote a 'pathological' perception of blacks. However, in recent years scholars have developed frameworks which provide increased clarity and understanding of black culture. Among these recent trends are the development of literature and teaching approaches that focus on:

1. the strengths of black families, particularly how kinship ties and the extended family values still exist today. (Martin and Martin, 1978);
2. an analysis of racism in terms of macro-level economics and politics in America;
3. greater utilization of the concept of interlocking cultures; (i.e. the recognition and acceptance that cultures are mutually influencing)
4. increased incorporation of the ecological theoretical approach as contrasted to a predominantly intraspsychic or psychoanalytic approach to problem solving;
5. the application of the non-deficit perspective in understanding different racial-ethnic cultural minorities (i.e. attempting to see and understand the wholeness of human activity including the social-cultural validity of the person or group under discussion)
6. the increased use of non-traditional materials and class exercises that highlight conceptual material. (e.g. using experiential exercises to obtain a better understanding of concepts such as empowerment, race, functional-structural assessment as discussed by Leigh (1980) and others).

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[6] Norton, Delores. The Dual Perspective: The Inclusion of Ethnic Minority Content In the Social Work Curriculum. CSWE, 1978.

Those who have had experience in teaching courses about racial-ethnic minority groups have come to realize some of the pitfalls and difficulties inherent in teaching this type of content. Some of these are summarized for the instructor's consideration.[7]

1. Avoiding the traditional approach to teaching minority content. (e.g. heavy historical focus on slavery or slave systems). When over-emphasized at the outset of the course students become over-involved with emotionalism which often creates an undue sense of guilt, resistance, and defensiveness among many majority culture class members. It may be more helpful to begin background information with material from Robert Hill, The Strengths of Black Families or Andrew Billingsley, Black Families and The Struggle For Survival: Teaching Our Children To Walk Tall.

2. Avoidance of pure sensitivity training. Unless an instructor is experienced in organizing and presenting this method, such training aimed at improving the student's self-awareness may not allow adequate time for resolutions of feelings of anger and a full discussion of differences in values. (i.e. some types of exercises could be used in combination with other materials so that the exercise is not exclusive based on sensitivity exercises).

3. Utilization of the concept of interlocking cultures. It is helpful for students to discuss and be aware of the pitfalls in analyzing culture in form of unique singularities. Recognition of the fact that cultures are mutually influenced by each other. For example, subscribing to the notion that the extended family support system is unique to blacks would be an incorrect assumption for it does not occur throughout the black community and more importantly, many other culture groups have a strong component of extended family supports.

4. Utilization of non-traditional materials or group discussion.
   Assigning students to read novels by black authors that encourage discussion about black family roles, interaction, informal adoption, kinship networks. Newspapers, magazines, and some films are also excellent resources for class discussions. (We have included a bibliography in the Readings Section that describes a number of novels).

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[7] Taken from Work With Urban Black Families. A curriculum developed by the Region VI Child Welfare Training Center, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisianna.

Major Concepts for Ethnic-Racial Minority Content*

The following concepts are basic and essential for students to understand in order to deal with the materials in this suggested core content. They are inserted here to alert the instructor concerning the major concepts to be covered in this content.

CULTURE	The dynamic patterns of learned behaviors, values and beliefs exhibited by a group of people who share historical and geographical proximity.
ACCULTURATION	The process of assuming/acquiring the dynamic patterns of learned behaviors, values, and beliefs of a cultural group to which one does not belong.
ENCULTURATION	The initial process of receiving and incorporating the attitudes, behaviors, values and beliefs which make up the culture into which one is born.
SOCIALIZATION	The process by which a person acquires the behaviors considered appropriate for social participation.
ASSIMILATION	The process of accepting the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of a social group to which one is not a natural member.
NON-DEFICIT	The description of those thinking processes which try to see the wholeness of human activity. Such thinking usually begins with an understanding of the socio-cultural validity and integrity of the persons under discussion.
AFRO-CENTRIC	The description of human behavior, product and/or thought which identifies it with the patterns and/or techniques associated with the cultural heritage of Afro-Americans.

THESE DEFINITIONS HAVE BEEN SYNTHESIZED FROM THE FOLLOWING REFERENCE MATERIALS.

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II. Learning Objectives

II. Learning Objectives

If content related to working with black families and children is taught in the four core courses (HBSE, policy, research, and practice) as recommended in this outline, a student who completes all four core courses should:

(1) Be able to apply the non-deficit approach in working with black families

(2) Be knowledgeable about the specific cultural characteristics of Afro-American life

(3) Be able to recognize and understand the family dynamics of the intact black family unit

(4) Be able to recognize the role and value of the black extended family unit

(5) Be able to identify specific strengths and child rearing pattern among black families

(6) Be able to address why traditional out of home placement policies have not led to permanency for black children

(7) Be able acknowledge why traditional adoption policies have not led to the recruitment of black parents

(8) Be able identify adoption policies which reflect cultural differences

(9) Be able to develop sound approaches for assessment of and intervention with black children and their families based upon the utilization of the non-deficit approach

(10) Be able to make appropriate permanent plans for a black child based upon a thorough knowledge of the strengths of the black family and black community

(11) Be able to analyze and assess the validity of major research studies about black children and their families

(12) Be able to identify the implications of recent federal legislation (e.g. Public Law 96-272) for black families

(13) Be able to discuss the impact of the many systems (e.g. health, housing, welfare, education, justice, political) upon black children and their families

III. Case Studies

56

Introduction

The purpose of the attached case study section is to provide material that provokes the student's self awareness and increased understanding of black children and their families. Therefore, the student should be encouraged through discussion and analysis in class, to begin to understand the impact of his/her own personal experiences on his interpretation and judgements about black culture. The student's assignment in fieldwork can also be utilized for the same purpose.

This case study section is divided into the following three parts:

(A) Casework Vignettes (Brief case situations designed to require that the student select culturally appropriate responses, among several choices.)

(B) The Green Family (Case illustration designed to focus on basic casework skills and an increased awareness of cultural differences.)

(C) Suggestions for Using Case Examples for Class/Fieldwork Assignments (eg. identifying cultural expressions, strengths, counseling areas of black middle income families, etc.)

(A) Casework Vignettes

The following case situations are designed to increase the student's awareness of specific behaviors found among many black people. The examples represent only a few situations. The instructor is encouraged to develop additional examples if he/she desires. These examples follow the format developed in Mexican American Culture Simulator for Child Welfare: Casework Vignettes.* Briefly the case studies are as follows:

(1) The Foster Home (case)

(2) Nutrition Neglect (case)

(3) Community Center (group)

After reading one of the examples the student is asked to select one answer from four or five given possibilities. The correct answer and rationale for discussion follow each example. The student may do these on his own or they can be used for discussion purposes in class.

(1) The Foster Home

Mrs. Haynes is a black foster mother of three black children ages, 3, 7 and 10. Mrs. Haynes has been a foster mother for five years. The children placed in this foster home are not related to each other. One of the birth mothers, Mrs. Jones, visits her child, Alicia, very infrequently, every six months or so. This is very upsetting to Alicia who is seven years old, and it infuriates the foster mother. Mrs. Jones made her most recent visit to Alicia a week ago, and she became extremely upset when she was scolded and criticized by Mrs. Haynes, the foster mother, for not visiting more often. Mrs. Jones subsequently telephoned the social worker and complained about the foster mother's outburst and attitude toward her.

The white caseworker, Ms. Lee, made a visit to the home and spoke with Mrs. Haynes about each child. When Mrs. Haynes did not tell Ms. Lee about her confrontation with birth mother (Mrs. Jones), Ms. Lee explained to Mrs. Haynes that Mrs. Jones had called her and was very upset by Mrs. Haynes's attitude. At this point the worker tried to obtain a response from Mrs. Haynes but she only responded by nodding her head and moving her eyes quickly from one position to another. She gave no verbal response and did not look the worker in the eye. The worker tried to elicit a verbal response from Mrs. Haynes but was unable to and left the foster home.

Which one statement below best indicate what Mrs. Haynes's silence meant?

A. Mrs. Haynes felt that Ms. Lee was too directive in talking about Mrs. Jones, the birth mother.

B. Mrs. Haynes felt embarrassed about her outburst and she did not wish to talk about it.

C. Mrs. Haynes felt justified in her behavior toward the birth mother. She was angry at Ms. Lee for not accepting the validity of her behavior, but was unwilling to verbally express her anger.

D. Mrs. Haynes reactions indicates that she is becoming withdrawn, is likely emotionally disturbed and unable to communicate. She should be seen in a mental health clinic to determine her emotional stability and ability to care for foster children.

(1) Foster Home

(Answers)

A. Mrs. Haynes felt that Ms. Lee was too directive in talking about Mrs. Jones, the birth mother.

Rationale:

Being directive is not a significant issue in this situation as the worker had preceded the discussion with concern about all the other children before confronting Mrs. Haynes with the complaint from the birth mother. In short, there was, on the part of the worker, preliminary exploration about the foster mother's initial concerns.

B. Mrs. Haynes felt embarrassed about her outburst and did not wish to talk about it.

Rationale:

Although this may be a possibility, the "outburst" by Mrs. Haynes was based on her convictions and concern for the child. Therefore, she would not likely be embarrassed by her convictions.

C. Mrs. Haynes felt justified in her behavior toward the birth mother. She was angry at Ms. Lee (the worker) for not accepting the validity of her behavior, but was unwilling to verbally express her anger.

Rationale:

This is the correct answer. Black people sometimes put on a 'mask' to hide their real feelings, particularly when talking to an authority figure. The quick movement of the eyes is sometimes a common way, especially among black women, of reacting to criticism from another person. This is sometimes referred to as "rolling of the eyes" which connotes anger and disapproval of the person in the authority role. This non-verbal expression can happen so quickly that it is often missed by a non-black person. Finally, Mrs. Haynes felt justified to scold the birth mother because of her basic and primary concern for the child, a primary value in the black culture.

D. Mrs. Haynes reaction indicates that she is becoming withdrawn, is likely emotionally disturbed and unable to communicate. She should be seen in a mental health clinic to determine her emotional stability and ability to care for foster children.

Rationale:

Her behavior might be considered withdrawn by the untrained observer or one not aware of the meaning of this culturally appropriate non-verbal behavior as indicated in item (C) above. Her behavior is situational and culturally appropriate. Therefore, an assessment of emotional disturbance and/or withdrawal is inappropriate.

(2) Nutrition Neglect

The child protective service worker, Ms. Smith, (white) was asked to investigate a child neglect complaint from the welfare department's centralized hot line. There were few details in the original complaint. The only information available indicated that a neighbor throught the mother was not giving Darren, her fifteen month old son, adequate food. Ms. Smith made a home visit to Ms. Jackson who is black. The CPS worker explained to Mr. Jackson that she had received a complaint about her care for her child and that she would like to talk with her about it.

Ms. Smith learned that Ms. Jackson was living alone while her husband was trying to locate work in a nearby city. She stated that there was not much food in the house, but that she was doing the best she could. Darren appeared to be malnourished. Ms. Smith made arrangments for Ms. Jackson to receive immediate general assistance and food stamps. Throughout the interview Ms. Jackson remained calm and cooperative.

Two weeks later Ms. Smith made her second home visit. She found the home with very little food, and there was no milk available for Darren. She became alarmed that Darren had no milk. Ms. Jackson explained that she had never given Darren processed milk because he could not drink milk. Noticing that there were some alcoholic beverages in the refrigerator, Ms. Smith began to doubt the mother's account. Ms. Smith felt that Darren was undernourished and indicated in her report to her supervisor that the neglect was indeed founded.

Select one statement below that most accurately states the situation:

A. Ms. Smith has good grounds for being suspicious of child neglect and a report of neglect seems warranted.

B. The mother drinks alcohol while neglecting her child's need for milk, clearly a case of child nutritional neglect.

C. The child has malnutrition, but simply because there is not enough food.

D. The child has a genetic predisposition toward not being able to digest milk.

(2) Nutritional Neglect

(Answers)

A. Ms. Smith has good grounds for being suspicious of child neglect and a report of neglect seems warranted.

Rationale:

Although there is some evidence of factors that could lead to neglect, (eg. lack of food and financial resources) there is not enough information at this point to indicate that the child, Darren, is actually neglected. It may be a case of mismanagement or lack of sufficient funds, or it may be that Ms. Jackson shares her funds and food with others in need. Thus, it is necessary for the worker to obtain additional factual information before concluding that this is a neglect situation.

B. The mother drinks alcohol while neglecting her child's need for milk, clearly a case of child nutritional neglect.

Rationale:

There is no factual evidence that Ms. Jackson herself drinks the alcoholic beverages in the refrigerator. Even if Ms. Jackson does drink alcoholic beverages, one cannot assume that this leads to or is the reason that she does not give her child milk. Additional exploratory interviewing by the worker is necessary before assuming that this is a valid concern.

C. The child has malnutrition but simply because there is not enough food.

Rationale:

It has not been firmly established that the child is malnourished as no medical tests have been given. It is possible that the baby may not be getting enough food, but the worker has not yet thoroughly ascertained the daily food intake of the baby.

D. The child has a genetic predisposition toward not being able to digest milk.

Rationale:

This is the correct answer. Often social workers and health officials have assumed that lack of financial resources is the reason that many black families do not use an abundant supply of milk in their diets. It is a fact, now well known, that many black adults and children experience stomach distress after drinking milk.

> "Such observation may have led to the survival integrity of milk absence from Afro-American

> culture patterns. That integrity is grounded in the fact that some seventy-five percent of people of color do not possess the digestive enzyme for processing the lactose of cow's milk."*

Lack of knowledge about many black people's inability to digest milk is, therefore, a cultural fact which needs to be valued and understood by the white worker. What appears as neglect, then, may well be, as in this case, simply a genetic predisposition to reject milk into the body's system.

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*Taken from the unpublished paper, "Black Families, The Clue to Cultural Appropriateness As An Evaluative Concept for Health and Human Services" by Jualynne E. Dodson, School of Social Work, Atlanta University.

(3) Community Center

A new white student worker has recently become employed as a group worker in a community center located in a black neighborhood. He has been assigned to work with a group of adolescent boys who have been referred by the nearby public school as having a variety of behavior problems and a low interest in school.

On the first day of his meeting, the worker met with seven boys who appeared to know each other well as there was a constant verbal exchange with a lot of physical movement as each boy would enter and leave the group setting. The student group worker sensed that he was 'losing control' of the group. At about the time the group began to quiet down a second group of adolescent girls led by a young black female group worker entered the room. This brought a lot of 'cat calls' and a good deal of teasing remarks from the boys group to the girls group. The new student worker was not too upset about this type of behavior. However, he became quite upset when one of the boys began to walk slowly and casually toward the girls group and then circled their group entirely. This brought on some laughter in the boys group and most of the girls just smiled or giggled. Finally, the group worker could not tolerate the boy's behavior and harshly reprimanded him in front of both groups. The boy continued the same type of walk after being reprimanded and left the room and the building. The student was relieved that he had left for the group now began to quite down. The student worker hoped that this boy would not return to the group, considering him a potential troublemaker.

Which one of the statements below best reflects what happened in the above situation?

A. The male group worker handled the situation well because he needed to establish his authority and set limits for the group at the outset.

B. The boy's attitude and cockiness was aimed at provoking the new worker and testing his ability to set limits.

C. The boy was displaying behavior typical of black male adolescents.

D. All the girls enjoyed the behavior and took it lightly, thus there really wasn't any disruption.

(3) Community Center

(Answers)

A. The male group worker handled the situation well because he needed to establish his authority and set limits for the group at the outset.

Rationale:

Although the worker does need to establish limits, the setting of limits, especially during the first session requires a worker response that is based on a recognition of adolescent behavior as manifested within the black adolescent culture. Once this is known, limits can be made by a white male worker in a more casual less confrontive manner. As though to suggest to the boy that I understand what you are doing and I am not upset by it, but it is time to return to our group. In short, no reprimand is needed.

B. The boy's attitude and cockiness was aimed at provoking the new worker and testing his ability to set limits.

Rationale:

It is possible that this behavior is a testing device on the part of the young man. However, this adolescent does not direct his cockiness at the group leader. Rather, it is completely focused upon the girls group. Thus, this behavior must be understood within the range of adolescent behavior not untypical for some black male adolescents.

C. The young man was displaying behavior typical of black male adolescents.

Rationale:

This is, as suggested in the preceding rationale statements, the correct answer. This behavior is common among some young black males, particularly in adolescence:

> "The young black male's walk is different. First of all, it's much slower - it's more of a stroll. The head is sometimes slightly elevated and casually tipped to the side. Only one arm hangs at the side with the hand slightly cupped. The other hand hangs limply to the side or it is tucked into the pocket (with the thumbs outside of the pocket). The gait is slow, casual and rhythmic. The gait is almost like a walking dance, with all parts of the body moving in rythmic harmony. This walk is called a "pimp strut", or it is referred to "walking that walk."

> "In addition, the black walk communicates that the young black male is beautiful, and it beckons female attention to the sexual prowness possessed by the walker."
>
> "The young black male walk must be learned, and it usually is learned at quite a young age. Black males of elementary age can often be seen practicing the walk. By the time they reach junior high school age, the black walk has been mastered."

The above quotations* make it clear that the behavior of the group black male may be a very common expression among his peers. Therefore, his "strut" was a playful gesture of adolescent sexuality, quite harmless in itself. The young man's continued "strutting" after being reprimanded by the worker, was his way of rejecting the worker's authority and in effect, "telling him to go to hell." It would have been more culturally appropriate for the worker to allow the young man to "strut" and then return to the group rather than setting up the confrontation with the harsh reprimand.

D. All the girls enjoyed the young man's behavior and took it lightly, thus there really wasn't any disruption.

Rationale:

It was obvious that the girls were not bothered by the "strutting" of this young man. They clearly understood its meaning and responded appropriately within their cultural frame of reference. This reaction combined with the boy's culturally normal behavior, then, was not cause for concern by the white worker. This can also be observed through the reaction of the girls group worker (i.e. - she made no effort to calm her group or the young man).

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*Taken from an unpublished condensation by Jualynne Dodson of: "Some Non-Verbal Communication Patterns in the Black Culture", by Kenneth R. Johnson, Florida FL Reporter, Spring-Fall, 1971.

(B) The Green Family

The following case example is aimed at developing assessment skills and cultural awareness. The example is divided into two parts: (a) a brief case description of the Green Family which should be distributed to each student; (b) guideline for the instructor.

(a) The Green Family

You have been assigned to make a home visit with a family that has recently moved into the low-rent public housing project. The project is integrated and there is a great deal of friction among the white and black tenants. Most people keep their apartments securely locked. Rent is scaled according to income; and each tenant family must maintain certain house-keeping standards set by the local housing authority, or they are liable for eviction.

You have been assigned to visit the Green family due to a report by a neighbor that the children are generally unattended and the 4 year old son is being abused by the parents and the older children in the family. There are 5 children in the family; two girls ages 5 and 7, three boys ages 4, 10, and 12. Mrs. Green is 32 and her husband is 37. The Greens, a black family, have recently moved to this northern city from a rural town in Alabama. The father's present occupation is warehouseman. He has been on the job for approximately six weeks.

Mrs. Green, a woman you judge to be in her early thirties, meets you at the door. She has on a housecoat and her hair is in curlers. The two small girls are running around the apartment in underpants. She lets you in with some reluctance and screams at the children to be quiet. She tells you they aren't always bad. You notice the apartment is littered with clothes scattered around and dirty dishes on the table. A stereo is on playing loudly, and a radio can be heard in another room. No one else seems to be home.

(b) Guidelines for Instructor

Purpose:	To develop basic skills in home visiting, assessment, and interviewing techniques. To develop a consciousness of values, assumptions and cultural differences.
Time:	2 hours
Materials:	A copy of the case information, pencils and paper

Methods: 1. Have the group members divide into small clusters of 6-8 persons per group. Each member is to list their initial observations and assessment based on the information given in the case.

   a. Write down what information is needed to complete the interview and the investigation

   b. Discuss this and answer the following questions in the discussion

      - What are you going to say to Mrs. Green to introduce yourself?

      - What questions are you going to ask Mrs. Green to develop an assessment of this family and its needs?

2. Have students address ways to approach the Green family without violating their cultural integrity. Among the issues to be discussed and highlighted could be:*

   - the significance of the family's move from a southern rural community to a northern city

   - the place of music in the Afro-American culture

   - the responsibilities held by the older children in black families

3. Select someone in your group to be Mrs. Green and someone to be the worker, role-play the case.

4. Other group members are to observe the interview and give feedback and observations on:

   a. The worker's ability to engage the client

   b. The worker's use of specific casework techniques such as universalization, summarization, etc.

   c. The worker's ability to be non-judgemental

   d. The worker's use of power and authority

   e. The client's involvement in the interview

   f. The non-verbal communication observed

5. Have workers describe what anxieties they would experience in this situation.

This case example was adapted from an exercise in Baker, Cynthia. Working With the Urban Black Family. Region VI Child Welfare Training Center, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1981, p. 44.

*References to assist in this part of the exercise include:

- Martin, Elmer P. and Joanne P. Martin. The Black Extended Family. University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1978, Chapter 8, "Problems of Urban Life."
- Dodson, Jualynne and Susan Ross. Afro-American Culture: Expressive Behaviors. Atlanta University School of Social Work. Atlanta, Georgia, 1977.

(C) Suggestions for Using Case Examples for Class/Fieldwork Assignments

Case studies should be an integral part of student learning in both the fieldwork and classroom situation. In addition, practice courses are greatly enriched when students discuss and analyze experiences from the practicum. It appears, however, that case content relating to ethnic-racial material is not always presented or made available by students or faculty. In this section on case studies we have made some suggestions that may help to lessen this gap. However, we also believe it is important for the instructor to encourage the discussion of real case studies that are related to working with black families and children. The instructor and/or students might bring actual case illustrations to class which address the cultural issues identified below:

(1) Inter-cultural/racial helping relationships - black clients/white worker, black worker/black client(s), black worker/white client(s).

(2) Encounters with black cultural expressions (eg. language, food, non-verbal behaviors, etc.).

(3) Community organizations or social planning efforts that interface with the black community (churches, schools, recreational, etc.).

(4) Identifying (in even the worst of circumstances) the strengths of black families through case illustrations.

(5) Discussing and presenting case, group, or community situations that address some of the more serious problems facing black families (eg. teenage pregnancy, teenage unemployment, teenage drug abuse, alcoholism, aging, hypertension, etc.).

(6) Presenting case material that reflects the counseling needs of middle income black families.

(7) Illustrating case material that demonstrates how the black extended family deals with the problems confronting it.

(8) Maladoptive dynamics in some black families.

(9) Coping with institutional racism.

IV. Learning Exercises/Teaching Techniques

A. Identification of Characteristics of Black Families

One method of involving students in a discussion of Afro-American culture, especially as it relates to black family life, is to ask them to identify any behavior that they associate with blacks, particularly black families. The instructor quickly lists the group's statements on a flip chart. Pages of the flip chart are then taped around the room. The intent of this exercise is not to judge the correctness or appropriateness of the students' statements, but to capture the essence of what they know and think about black family life.

As the class moves into the study of black family life through readings, lectures, and additional learning exercises, the flip chart pages remain on the wall. As students gain facutal knowledge of Afro-American cultural expression, they are able to conceptualize behavioral strengths of black people and black families. Through discussion of the articles listed below, the class can identify the strengths of black families. This will assist each student in assessing for himself the validity or lack of validity in the statements on the flip chart. The instructor does not point out the statements that appear to be erroneous.

(1) Hill, Robert. The Strengths of Black Families. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1971.

(2) Martin, Elmer, and Joanne Martin. The Black Extended Family. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Value of the Exercise

This exercise might be particularly appropriate for use in a human behavior class when studying cultural characteristics of Afro-American life and the cultural strengths of black families. Because students recognize that their statements are not being judged, they are willing to participate and express their real feelings about black families. The exercise could also be used in the practicum placement.

Jualynne Dodson, Associate Professor at Atlanta University, recently engaged a group of thirty child welfare workers in this exercise at an inservice education workshop sponsored by the Center. Within a matter of 15 to 20 minutes the group had identified 50 different characteristics of black families and had become very involved in the topic.

B. Group Exercise #1

The attached Group Exercise #1 (following the description of newspapers that could be used in the exercise) was developed by the Research and Demonstration Center at the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

This exercise provides the students with an opportunity to share their first hand observations of black life as it is presented in their observations of the community or in pictorial presentations. This exercise assists the student in understanding another culture through the non-deficit approach.

After each group completes the exercise, the instructor leads the large group in discussion of the small group responses.

Suggested books, magazines, and newspapers that can be used by the students in this exercise are listed below.

Books, Magzines, Etc. to Support Group Exercise #1

Pictorials

Bogle, Donald. Brown Sugar. New York: Harmony Books, 1980.

Collier, Graham. Inside Jazz.

Harris, Middleton. The Black Book. New York: Random House, 1974.

Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer. A Pictorial History of The Negro In America. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968

Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer. Black Magic: A Pictorial History of Black Entertainers in America. New York

Jordan, June. Dry Victories. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1972.

McCarthy, Albert. Big Band Jazz. New York: Berkley Publishing Co., 1974.

Roach, Hildred. Black American Music - Past and Present.

Schoener, Allon, ed. Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America 1900-1968. New York: Random House, 1968.

Tcholokim and Soroyan. The Majesty of Black Women.

Van Der Zee, James, Owen Dodson, and Camiller Billops. The Harlem Book of the Dea . New York: Morgan and Morgan, 1978.

Wright, Richard. 12 Million Black Voices.

Magazines

Ebony - 4 special issues

(a) "100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation," September 1963
(b) "The Black Revolution," August 1969
(c) "The Black Middle Class", August 1969
(d) "The Black Child", August 1974

Black Art Quarterly

Newspapers

(a) Any local black owned daily or weekly newspaper
(b) THE RECORD: The Black Experience In America 1619-1979. Sponsored by NAACP, The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and The National Council for Social Studies. This is a 16 page illustrated tabloid account of 360 years of black history. Can be ordered from Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 or your nearest regional office. (Cost - 50¢ per copy)

Group Exercise #1

Conditions and themes of Afro-American life, history and culture as presented in visual acquaintances within your community.

PURPOSE:

To introduct participants to the breath, depth and variety of components which comprise Afro-American life, history and culture.

ACTIVITY:

In groups of no more than five persons, review your walk through the community, visit to the Art Gallery of the library and, if possible, review of pictorial presentations on black American life. In group discussion, synthesize these materials and collectively answer the following questions.

1. Characterize the conditions of life for black Americans as represented tin the experiences your group reviewed.

a. c. e.

b. d. f.

2. What have been the major themes of black life in America as contained in the materials your reviewed?

a. c. e.

b. d. f.

3. Student Signatures: ____

____

*Included here with the permission of author, Jualynne Dodson, Associate Professor Atlanta University School of Social Work, 1979.

C. Exercises in Non-Deficit Thinking

Non-deficit - "The description of those thinking processes which try to see the wholeness of human activity. Such thinking usually begins with an understanding of the socio-cultural validity and integrity of the persons under discussion." (as defined by the Atlanta University School of Social Work)

In studying cultures is a non-deficit fashion, one looks for what exists in those cultures and does not look for something to be missing or lacking. In contrast, a deficit approach compares minority cultures to the majority culture and implies that where they differ, the minority culture is defective. A deficit approach looks for pathology in the minority culture.

The purpose of the following two exercises is to enhance students' knowledge of the relationship between deficit and non-deficit perspectives on black family life. These exercises are viewed as particularly relevant for HBSE courses.

(1) Group Exercise #3

The attached Group Exercise #3, developed by Jualynne Dodson, Associate Professor, Atlanta University School of Social Work, is intended to help students begin to understand the meaning and validity of the non-deficit approach. References to be used to conduct this exercise include:

Martin, Elmer P. and Joanne Martin. The Black Extended Family. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Moynihan, D.P. The Negro Family: The Case for National Action. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Planning and Research, 1965, Chapter IV, "The Tangle of Pathology" and Chapter V, "The Case for National Action."

The instructor should be very familiar with the Moynihan materials, especially the controversy and response to this work. This will assist the instructor and in return, the student, to accurately identify the deficit and non-deficit thinking in the report.

(2) Case History Critique

In addition to the preceeding group exercise, the students might also do a case history critique which will assist them in relating deficit and non-deficit concepts to actual social work practice with black families.

Ask the students to write a brief case history about a black family or child that has a problem. After the instructor collects the case histories, he should re-distribute them to the students, being sure that no student gets his own case history. Each student is to critique in writing the case history he has received for its deficit and non-deficit statements and approach. The entire class then discusses what they discovered when critiquing each others case histories. This exercise is especially relevant for practice courses or field work assignments.

GROUP EXERCISE #3*

Identifying the developmental strengths of black family life and their relationship to existing deficit oriented conceptualizations.

Purpose:

To enhance participants' knowledge of the relationship between deficit and pathological perspectives on black family life and the developmental, non-deficit perspectives of these life styles.

Activity:

After reading Moynihan's "The Tangle of Pathology" and Chapter 8 of The Black Extended Family by Martin and Martin, discuss deficit and non-deficit perspectives in your study group. Use the following statements and questions as guide and stimulation for your discussion.

1. List three (3) non-deficit statements by Moynihan.
    a.
    b.
    c.
2. List three (3) deficit statements made by Moynihan.
    a.
    b.
    c.
3. Characterize the perspective Moynihan takes regarding black families.
    a.
    b.
    c.
4. What are Martin and Martin's perspectives regarding black families?
    a.
    b.
    c.
5. List three (3) examples of the strengths of black families.
    a.
    b.
    c.

6. List three (3) examples of deficit statements made by Martin and Martin.

   a.

   b.

   c.

7. Summarize your group's discussion of the statement, "the majority of black families are matriarchal in structure and defective in function."

*Taken from Multi-Cultural Education
Atlanta University School of Social Work

D. My Culture-Myself

The focus of this attached exercise is to develop an awareness about the complexity of defining culture and to heighten the student's acceptance of his/her own racial/ethnic identity. The latter is especially important in helping the student to be able to begin looking at another cultural group and subsequently develop an understanding of these groups.

Exercise #4

"My Culture - Myself"*

Purpose:	To encourage group members to share issues they feel are unique to their own culture and evaluate how this is viewed by others.
Time:	30 - 60 minutes depends on size of the group
Materials:	Paper, pencils, container to hold notes
Method:	1. Have group members describe themselves using cultural terms. Each member should list specific characteristics they would use to determine who they are. Place all notes in the container. 2. Members should take turns pulling notes from the container and attempt to identify the author from characteristics listed. The group may assist in this process.

This exercise usually reveals several points:

1. There is no one definition of culture and what characteristics are chosen to describe culture.
2. Members of different ethnic groups often share cultural lifestyles and customs depending on the region of the country in which they originated.
3. Individual describe themselves often in reflection of societal expectations.

Note if members refer to ethnicity, race, religion or other descriptive factors. Often race is the lowest on the list of factors especially if group members are non-minority.

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*Taken from Baker, Cynthia, Working with Urban Black Families. Region VI Child Welfare Training Center, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisianna, 1981, p. 47.

E. Novels About Black Families (Exercises and Assignments)

In the Readings (Section VII) there are a number of novels listed. These novels are an important means by which black authors communicate specific knowledge about the black culture, family life, personality development and the black community. Therefore, the instructor can design a number of written or verbal assignments concerning some of these areas. Some examples might be to have the student, in the novel he/she reads:

1. Describe, discuss and analyze black family life giving special attention to the specific socio-economic-status of the family's in the book. (i.e. - assists students in avoiding gross generalizations)

2. Discuss and analyze the developmental aspect of the family looking at:

   a) the influence of HBSE, practice and research concepts
   b) comparisons within the family from one developmental stage to another
   c) how the environment impacts upon the family
   d) supports within the family

3. Analyze individual personality development in terms of:

   a) developmental aspects highlighted in course
   b) development of black character in reference to ecological (social and familial) forces that either impede or facilitate growth
   c) which experiences seem to be influenced by race/ethnicity/culture

4. Discuss and analyze the black community by:

   a) reviewing the novel from the perspective of community structure. Readings helpful to aide the student in analysis of the novel might be - Barbara Solomon's book, Black Empowerment or Billingsley's Black Families In White America.

F. Ethnic Identity Paper (Written assignment)

Purpose of Assignment

In working with people it is essential that social workers posses an awareness and understanding of themselves, of their unique needs, and of the ways in which they use themselves in interpersonal relationships. All of these factors are influenced by our socialization process, which, in turn, is profoundly influenced by variables such as social class, race, ethnicity and sex. This assignment is designed to help students become more aware and understanding of their individual ethnic reality. This assignment was developed by Althea Truitt of the National Catholic University School of Social Work and is particularly relevant for HBSE courses. Some instructors may presume that black students readily identify with being black and therefore encourage black students to interview a person from another racial-ethnic group. Although this may vary among black students. They should also be encouraged to deal with the reality of differences among blacks in their own ethnic awareness.

INSTRUCTIONS:

I. Write a paper on your ethnic reality which includes the following:

A. Identification of your ethnic group.
B. Description of your social class and how your particular class membership has influenced your life style and life choices.
C. When did you first become aware of your ethnicity; was it a painful or pleasurable event?
D. Identify some of the values of your ethnic group that appear to be embedded in your behavioral/thought patterns.
E. Identify any values of your ethnic group that you currently find yourself questioning.

II. The black ethnic reality

Conduct a 45 minute interview with someone from the black ethnic group.

A. Identify your interviewee's ethnic group.
B. How does the interviewee feel about belonging to that group? Positive feelings and negative feelings.
C. Do you have any questions about the ethnic group of your interviewee

III. Evaluation

A. What has this assignment taught you about yourself? About the ethnic group of your interviewee?
B. Identify similarities and differences in yourself and your interviewee that may be attributed to ethnicity.

Specifics of Assignments

Paper should be no more than 10-12 typewritten pages. This means that you must be very selective regarding details or anecdotes.

The following references may be helpful to you:

1. Yetman, N.R. and Steele, C.H. (ed.) Majority and Minority, They Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations. (2nd ed.), Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975. Read selectively.
2. Howard, D.S. Social Welfare, Values, Means and Ends. New York: Random House, 1969.
3. Weinberger, P.E. Perspectives on Social Welfare, An Introductory Anthology. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974. (See Section V - "Ethnic Perceptions and Value Orientations", p. 343 read selectively).
4. Mostwin, D. "In Search of Ethnic Identity" in Social Casework, May, 1973.
5. Greeley, A.M. Ethnicity in the United States, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974.

*This assignment was developed by Althea Truitt for her Human Behavior and The Social Environment Course, The National Catholic School of Social Service, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1981.

G. Understanding the Consumer

Students can always learn a great deal from clients or non-clients who are from the black culture. Obviously, this takes place in the practicum situation, but could also be arranged in a HBSE or practice class. A number of possibilities for discussion and interation among the black client consumer and class members are available. Among the issues might be: their perception of growing up black in America........particularly their childhood awareness of being black; difficulties encountered in one of our health, mental helath, welfare, juvenile justice, housing, etc. systems; their perception of social workers and other professionals; and their recommendation on how a social worker can be sensitive and more effective in working with black families and children.

H. The City Council Exercise

Since this is a somewhat lengthy exercise, both descriptively and in actual implementation, we have divided it into three sections:

I. Directions to Instructor

II. Description of The City Council Exercise (which is to be distributed to students)

III. Suggested Roles for Participants in the City Council Exercise

I. Directions to Instructor

1) Review the description of this exercise in Section II very thoroughly to acquaint yourself with the detail and purposes of the exercise.

2) The format of the exercise assumes that the advocacy-client group and agency directors group will present their respective problems to the members of the City Council. Thus, the City Council members will sit at the head of the room, behind a table and facing the particular group that is presenting the problem. City Council members ask questions, discuss and vote on issues presented based on their assigned roles.

3) In explaining the exercise to the students follow these steps:

(a) Distribute and review with student a copy of Section II, Description of the City Council Exercise, so that the purpose of the exercise is clarified and to elicit questions from the students about the assignment.

(b) Explain that part of this first class session will be devoted to the:

(1) determination of which students will play which roles;
(2) what group the students will belong to;
(3) having each student meet with his group to prepare for the exercise to be held during the next class session.

(c) Pass out to each student, a slip of paper which identifies a specific role (see suggested roles in Section III) for each participant as well as which group the student will be affiliated with:

(1) City Council
(2) Advocacy Group
(3) Agency Directors
(4) Client Group

NOTE: Although four groups have been developed in this exercise, the nature of the problem areas and how many of them are to be addressed should be determined by the instructor. This decision will be based on the number of students in the class and the particular problem areas the instructor wants to cover (they can be different from those described in this exercise).

4) Have the students meet for about 30-60 minutes during this class to make plans for their presentation during the next class session.

5) Allow at least 1½ to 2 hours for the role play exercise to be conducted in the next class. Make sure students have ample time, immediately following the exercise, to discuss their feelings and overall value of the assignment.

6) Since it is somewhat difficult to develop an objective criteria from which to evaluate the students performance in this exercise, the instructor may not wish to attempt grading the exercise. However, the instructor might assign students to describe (after the exercise) in a brief five (5) page paper, the impact of political-policy realities and the implications for black children and their families.

II. Description of the City Council Exercise*

Introduction

This exercise assumes that the student has, earlier in the course, defined racism and discussed some of the systems (eg., legal, education, housing, health, religion, economic, etc.) that have an impact on black children and their families.

This experiental exercise offers the student an opportunity (through taking on the role of the other) to respond, in a constructive manner to racist values, attitudes and behaviors inherent in our social system. Finally, this exercise will assist the student to evaluate the impact of macro policies upon black children and families at the micro level.

Objective

The objective of the exercise is to enhance student learning in analyzing, developing and implementing strategies for change. Other objectives are as follows:

1. Give student opportunity to research and execute techniques of change.

2. Enable students to recognize as well as utilize available resources.

3. Give students an awareness of the political process on different levels.

4. Put students in role modeling positions to feel the frustration of what it is like to be poor and powerless, versus others who are middle class and powerful and to experience the power that some members of society have at their disposal.

5. Enable students to analyze conflicts/struggles of values, priorities, power and commitments to the profession.

6. Assist students is being able to evaluate the significance of these problems in form of their impact on black children and their families.

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*This exercise was developed by Robert Peay, instructor, of the Minority/Black Experience Course, School of Social Work, Virginia Commonwealth University. In consultation with Mr. Peay, this exercise was ammended to suit the objectives of this suggested content.

Description

The setting for this exercise is city council chamber. As with most city councils there is the powerful versus the powerless, which is very political. Many issues, policies and changes that are approved by council aren't always in the best interest of the people. Often times they conflict with our values, priorities and commitments. This class assignment shall test city council and look at some of the decisions that are made.

The class will be divided into four groups and they are as follows: 1) City Council, 2) advocacy, 3) agency, and 4) client group.

The first group will be members of city council. The composition of council are three blacks and four Whites. This group should discuss issues that are germane to them, listen to and resolve complaints of their constituents. This group was elected fourteen months ago. They have had many problems relating each other. The news media has accused the council of voting along racial lines and of not looking at the real issues. The council is accused of being polarized.

The second group will be the advocacy group and/or community organizers from the School of Social Work. Their role is to act on behalf of the client or community to challenge city council using different tactics and techniques for change. There will be four to six students in the group.

The third group will be the agency heads who get most of their funding from council. It is time for City Council to approve or disapprove of the City Manager's budget. These agency administrators' budgets have been seriously cut by the City Manager and they fear that human services will be cut by 25% to 50%. There will be four to six students in the group.

The last group will be the Client group. This group is poor and needs to find some means to address problems they may have. They should work hand in hand with the advocacy group to bring about some solution to their problems.

The agency, advocacy and client groups may work together if deemed necessary.

Each student will be responsible for preparing his assigned role in his assigned group.

Problems to be Addressed by Groups

1. The school system is a disgrace. The school superintendent has been in his position for the last twenty years, he does not encourage change within the system. The history text books reflect an all white culture, while 95% of the population is black. Another problem is the transferring of the best teachers to white middle class neighborhoods, leaving this neighborhood school with average and mostly new teachers. The student dropout rate at this school is significantly higher than that of the white middle class school.

2. A group of low income residents in central city are upset because recently an increasing number of rental properties have been purchased by real estate investors who remodled the apartments and charge rents much beyond the means of current residents. Seventy percent of the people are black, 30% are white and 50% of the total residential population of the area are elderly black and white. Residents of the properties that have been remodled are forced to move out of their apartments, but alternative housing is very scarce.

3. The city welfare department has just implemented budget cuts in the AFDC program. A welfare rights group protests the cuts.

4. The Community Action Agency's (CAP) budget has been cut by 35%. The cuts eliminated the fuel program and the youth employment programs for youth 14 to 18 years of age. The City Manager has always had conflicts with the Administrator of CAP because he believes CAP programs are too costly and aren't necessary.

Suggested Readings

Cox, Fred M. Tactics and Techniques of Community Practice. Itasca, Illinois, F.E. Peacok Publishers, Inc. 1977.

Kramer, Ralph M. Readings In Community Organization Practice. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1969.

Any readings on county and city governments.

NOTE: Since this exercise can require at least two hours, the instructor will need to allow time for students to evaluate the experience verbally and/or in writing.

III. Suggested Roles for Participants in the City Council Exercise

City Council Student Roles

City Council Member Composition (Assign one student to each role and have the City Council group sit at the front of the room)

1. Black female, elected by Blacks, low-income whites, and Puerto Ricans. Your campaign stressed increased human services for the poor.

2. White female, elected by conservative middle class and upper middle-class. The people in your district believe that human services are a waste of taxpayer's money.

3. Black female, elected by a majority of Blacks. You are interested in better community services - such as cleaner streets, better treatment of the poor in the housing projects and welfare officer. You are also angry because the City Manager does not give an immediate action on your concern.

4. White female, elected by a majority white population that is low midde class. Your district believes that most of the city's services to the upper middle class neighborhoods. You have been on council for four years and feel very comfortable about being elected again.

5. Black male (lawyer) elected by a majority low-income to middle class Blacks. You have been an advocate for the community on housing and welfare reform. You were instrumental in stopping the highway project from coming through the district.

6. White female, elected by liberal whites, and upper middle class Blacks. Your district believes that Blacks and other minority should be represented on the planning board, housing authority, the school board, manpower council and local welfare board.

7. White male, elected by all upper middle class, you representing the power elite You have been on council for ten years, and feel that the council is getting too liberal.

Advocacy Group Roles

To address problem areas 1-3, advocacy member - (four to six students) will assist the clients in the client group to deal with:

> Problem 1 - (poor schools), Problem 2 - (housing), Problem 3 (AFDC budget cuts).
>
> Advocacy roles: (a) community organizer; (b) legal aide attorney; (c) NAACP director; (d) Head of PTA; (e) Highly educated Black female for better schools, etc.

Agency Director Group Roles

Three to four or more students will represent the roles of directors of agencies such as: (a) CETA; (b) Boys Club; (c) Diagnostic Center (d) Family Planning; (e) Welfare Director, etc.

The agency directors will address the city council members concerning problem area (4), the CAP budget cuts as well as projected budget cuts that will affect all the directors by a 30% decrease in operating funds. They are to argue against the city manager's proposal budget for the next fiscal year.

Client Roles

The client group is to work with advocates who have been assigned to help them deal with problem areas: 1 (poor schools); 2 (housing); 3 (AFDC budget cuts).

Four to eight students can be assigned to assume the following roles:

1. AFDC mothers in welfare rights groups (3 students), protesting recent AFDC cuts.

2. Two blacks - one elderly and alone; one mother and/or father with two children are evicted from rental housing because the property was purchased and then remodled by the new owners - forcing you to leave because of high rents. (2 or 3 students)

3. Three black parents are upset at the lack of proper facilities and low performance of their children in the public school that their children attend in the inner city.

V. Audiovisual Resources

V. Audiovisuals

The following audiovisuals are relevant to the topics of black culture and black children and their families.

A. Black History: Lost Stolen or Strayed
(40 minutes, black and white film)

Bill Cosby narrates this CBS-TV Emmy Award winning film which offers a brief survey of individuals and their contributions and a comparison between African art and its influence on 20th century western artists. Rental: $25.00 from Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

B. The Brooks Family
(20 minute filmstrip with cassette)

Designed for advanced high school and college courses on ethnicity and the family. This filmstrip depicts history and social patterns of this ethnic group (black family). The filmstrip is accompanied with a discussion guide, a transcript of the narration, questions for discussion, suggested activities and a bibliography. Purchase price: $35.00 from Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.
NOTE: There are filmstrips on eleven other ethnic groups also available on request.

C. Sanford's Story
(40 minute videotape)

A former foster child (black) now enrolled in a BSW program is interviewed by a faculty member form Eastern Michigan University. He describes the experiences of growing up, in moving, and his search for meaning and identity in his life. Produced and available from Eastern Michigan University, Social Work Program, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197. Purchase price: $45.00, Rental fee: $15.00. Available for free loan from Region III Child Welfare Training Center.

D. Johnny Boy

(16mm color film 10 minutes)

One of the first films developed on foster care, it depicts in a very vivid way, the plight of a black foster child having to be moved out of one home and into another. It was especially effective in recruitment efforts for finding homes for 'hard to place' children at the Florida Division of Family Services. In a Chicago International Film Festival it won the Silver Hugo Award in the Community Relations Divison. Available for loan from Office of Communications, Virginia Department of Welfare, Attention: Audiovisual Library, 8007 Discovery Drive, Richmond, Virginia 23288 (phone: 804-281-9204).

E. Waiting For the Moment
(16mm film, 15 minutes in length)

In-depth interviews with several black adoptive families, focusing on the parents' motivation to adopt, the adoption process itself, and the joys of parenthood. The film seeks to present adoption as a viable means of family for blacks by de-mythologizing the requirements for prospective adoptive parents. Produced by the Adoption Center of Delaware Valley, available from the Region III Adoption Resource Center. (free loan)

F. Marlene's Story
(Videotape, 40 minutes in length)

Part I

An interview by Emily Jean McFadden with a former black foster child about her belief that she would be reunited with her biological mother. Marlene describes her experiences such as the distortion in time which occurred during separation, the implications of contact with her mother, and the experience of copying with physical abuse in the foster home.

Part II

A panel discussion by the social work faculty focuses on intervention strategies which enhance the ties of the biological family with the child in care.

Rental: $15.00; purchase price: $45.00 from the Social Work Program, King Hall, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197.

G. The Scrapbook Experience

With the help of black social worker, Gilbert, a black foster child, develops a sense of identity as he works on his autobiographical scrapbook. In constructing the book, Gilbert has the opportunity to clarify and express his feelings about the past, and explore his fears about the future. He also reveals how he feels about himself and the significant people in his life as his social worker begins to prepare him for a move into an adoptive home. This 16mm film was produced by Image Associates and is available from the Region III Adoption Resource Center. (free loan)

H. Everybody Needs A Forever Home
(16mm film, 26 minutes)

Produced by the Texas Department of Human Resources, this film presents the realities of black adoption. Special attention is given to the adolescent black child as adoptive black parents discuss their feelings, expectating concerns, obstacles and joys. Available free loan from the Region III Adoption Resource Center.

I. Taking Care of One's Own
(16 mm film, 25 minutes)

Produced by the Extended Family Institute, Boston, Mass., 1980. This film explores the many kinds of black families who adopt black children. There are 5 different families portrayed in the film. A very well done film and available, free loan, from the Region III Adoption Resource Center.

J. Children, Infants, Ninos
(16mm film, 25 minutes, color)

This non-narrated film depicting the universality of childhood: the joys, difficulties and everyday life of children around the world. It can be purchased ($390.00) or rented ($39.00) from CRM/McGraw-Hill Films, Del Mar, California 92014 (714) 453-5000.
Ordering information code: 16mm. 107015-X, VDC 108175-5, VDC sale 293.

K. Minorities
(16mm film, 15 minutes, color)

This film may be used to introduce topic of "minorities" in core courses, particularly policy. Presents economic status of black Americans today especially the evidence of continued discrimination and its cost to all Americans.
Ordering information code: 16mm, 106907-0, sale $255.00, rental $27.00, from McGraw-Hill cited in item J above.

L. Prejudice: Causes, Consequences, Cures
(16mm film, 24 minutes, color)

This film focuses on research findings dealing with prejudice against women as well as specific racial/ethnic groups. May be used in helping to sensitize students to the diverse nature of prejudice....in any of the core courses.
Ordering information code: 16mm, 106687-X, VDC 107590-9, sale $405.00 rental $44.00, VDC Sale 305 from McGraw-Hill cited in item J above.

The following commercial films about black children and families are recommended for use in analyzing deficit and non-deficit thinking in class discussion. Although there is a rental fee for these films, the rental fee is considerably lower than it would be for commercial showing because only this distributor has the distribution rights to rent them exclusively to universities and colleges. Moreover, these films cannot be purchased by universities or colleges because the distributor has exclusive ownership and distribution rights. These films have been recommended for their realistic portrayal of blacks, particularly the strengths demonstrated in the characterization.

The following films can be rented from:

Swank Motion Pictures, Inc.
7926 Jones Branch Drive
MacLean, Virginia 22102
(703) 821-1040

Cooley High, directed by Michael Schultz, color, 107 minutes, 1975. (Rental - $150.00)*

Portrays the dreams of senior black students attending Cooley High School in the early 60's. It is a black-style AMERICAN GRAFFITI. "The film is a positive look at ghetto life and its dreams."

The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman, directed by John Korty, color, 110 minutes, 1974. (Rental - $85.00)

Cicely Tyson delivers an outstanding Emmy Award winning performance of a fictional black woman whose life spans the century from the Civil War to the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement.

Malcolm X, Warner Brothers, 92 minutes, 1972. (Rental - $200.00)

Narrated by James E. Jones this film tells the story of Malcolm X's dramatic rise from a crime ridden life to become a dynamic leader in America's Black Revolution. It is based on the best selling autobiography of Malcolm X written with the assistance of Alex Haley.

Sparkle, Warner Brothers, directed by Sam O'Steen, color, 99 minutes. (Rental - $175.00)

This is a moving story of three black girl singers who climb out of the ghetto through their stage performances.

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*Although this price is listed in the 1982 Swank Catalogue, the prices do change rapidly.

For further reference regarding black films you may want to review the following resource book:

Powers, Ann. Blacks In American Movies: A Selected Biblicgraphy. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1974.

This very useful book includes a list of periodicals, books, dissertations and annotations. The main section has 662 periodical articles listed. The final section includes a list of feature films about blacks or that has black actors covering the period 1904-1930.

VI. Black Resource Persons/Organizations

A. National Resources

Sylvia Gray, Project Director
National Child Welfare Training
Center
School of Social Work
University of Michigan
1015 E. Huron
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

(313) 763-4260

Joseph Crumbley, Project Director
National Resource Center on
Child Abuse and Neglect for
Black Social Workers
1540 N. 20th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19121

(215) 684-0360

Johanne Dixon, Project Director
National Urban League
Child Abuse and Neglect Center for
Urban Black Families
500 E. 62nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

(212) 644-6743

John Purnell, President
Black Administrators in Child
Welfare
Friends Association For Children
1004 Saint John Street
Richmond, VA 23220

(804) 644-2357

Althea Truitt, Assistant Professor
Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

(202) 635-5470

Evelyn Moore, Director
National Black Child
Development Institute
1463 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

(202) 387-1281

Sydney Duncan, Project Director
Homes for Black Children
2340 Calvert Street
Detroit, Michigan 48206

(313) 869-2316

Dr. Jay Chunn, Director
Cross-Cultural Curriculum
Project
School of Social Work
Howard University
Washington, DC 20059

(202) 636-7300

Jualynne Dodson, Assoc. Professor
Atlanta University
School of Social Work
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

(404) 681-0251 Ext. 289/285

Harriet McAdoo, Professor
School of Social Work
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20059

(202) 636-7300

B. Afro-American Research and Development Centers

For information concerning recent research projects concerned with black families contact:

Dr. Lewis King, Director
The Fanon Institute
Charles R. Drew Postgraduate
Medical School
2930 W. Imperial Highway
Suite 601
Inglewood, CA

(213) 603-3121
(Research, publications, extensive resource file, technical assistance)

Dr. Lawrence Gary, Director
Institute of Urban Affairs
Howard University
2900 Van Ness, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

(202) 686-6770
(Research on black teenage fathers; family, youth, and life task force, many publications)

C. Regional Resources

For information about various aspects of child welfare, including working with black families and children, contact the following:

Henry L. Gunn, III, Director
Region III Child Welfare
Training Center
School of Social Work
Virginia Commonwealth University
1001 West Franklin Street
Richmond, VA 23284

(804) 257-6231

Marlene Piasecki, Director
Region III Adoption Resourc
Center
1218 Chestnut Street
Suite 204
Philadelphia, PA 19107

(215) 925-0200

Vanette Graham, Director
Region III CA/N Resource Center
Howard University
2900 Van Ness Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20059

(202) 686-6770

D. Local Resources

Potential guest speakers for individual class sessions are those local persons who have been personally or professionally involved in administering offering, or receiving services to black children and their families.

The following are a few examples of such persons/organizations:

1. The local directors/members of the NAACP.
2. Black child care workers, social workers, and administrators.
3. Foster parent or adoptive parent groups.
4. Black consumers of social services.

VII. Readings

The readings listed below deal with various aspects of working with black children and their families. The list includes pertinent readings but is not intended to be an exhaustive bibliography. The readings are divided as follows: (a) General Readings; (b) Core Courses (HBSE, Research, Policy, Practice); (c) Novels about the Black Family. A number of these publications can be used in more than one core course. However, the best use of each reading identified is left to the discretion of the individual instructor.

A. General Readings

Blackwell, James E. *The Black Community: Diversity and Unity*. New York: Harper and Row Publisher, (1975).

Blauner, Robert, *Racial Oppression in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Bogle, Donald, *Brown Sugar*, New York: Harmony Books, 1980.

Cade, Toni, (ed.). *The Black Woman*. New York: New American Library, 1970.

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Coles, Robert. *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear*. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1964.

Comer, James, P.M.D. *Beyond Black and White*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972.

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Davis, Lenwood G. *The Black Family in the United States - A Selected Bibliography of Annotated Books, Articles, and Dissertations on Black Families in America*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Edelman, Marian W. *Portrait of Inequality: Black and White Children in America*. Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 1980.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "Problems and Needs of Negro Children." *Journal of Negro Education* 19 (1950): 269.

Goldschmid, Marcel L., (ed.). *Black Americans and White Racism - Theory and Research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970.

Goodman, James A. (ed.), *The Dynamics of Racism in Social Work Practice*. New York: NASW, 1973.

Guttman, H.C. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom. New York: Pantheon Press, 1976.

Harding, Vincent, There Is a River. New York: Harper and Row, 1981. Illustrated version and sub-title - Black Struggle For Freedom in America, 1981. ($19.95)

Harris, Middleton, The Black Book. New York: Crown and Publishers, Inc. 1974.

Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer. A Pictorial History of the Negro in America. New York: Crown and Publishers, Inc., 1968.

Jackson, Williams S., et al. Social Service Delivery Systems in the Black Community During the Antebellum Period (1619-1860). Atlanta: Atlanta University School of Social Work, 1973.

Jordon, June, Dry Victories, New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1972.

Lincoln, E.E. The Black Experience in Religion. Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1974.

McCarthy, Albert, Big Band Jazz, New York: Berkeley Publishing Corp., 1974.

Morgan, K.L. and Scruggs, O.M.. Children of Strangers. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980.

National Urban League, State of Black America. New York: National Urban League. (1979, 1980, 1981).

Rainwater, Lee, Behind Ghetto Walls Black Families in Federal Slums. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.

Roth, Edith. Black Heritage in Social Welfare, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1978.

Schoener, Allen (ed.). Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capitol of Black America 1900-1968. New York: Random House, 1968.

Silverstein, B. and R. Krate. Children of the Dark Ghetto. New York: Praeger, 1975.

Sotomayer, M. "Language, Culture and Ethnicity in Developing Self Concept", in Bloom, Martin (ed.), Life Span Development. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1980.

Stack, Carol B. All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Staples, Robert, Introduction to Black Sociology. New York: The Graw-Hill Co., 1976.

Staples, Robert (ed.), The Black Family: Essays and Studies. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1971.

Teele, James. "Strengths of Minority Groups", Child Welfare, Vol. 47, No. 6, June, 1968.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. A Selected Annotated Bibliography on Black Families. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

Van Der Zee, James and Owen Dodson, Camiller Billups, The Harlem Book of the Dead. New York: Morgan and Morgan, 1978.

Wilcox, Preston, Making Social Work Relevant to Black People: A Bibliography. New York: Afrum Associates, Inc., 1970.

Willis, C.V. (ed.), The Family Life of Black People. Columbis, Ohio: Merrill, 1970.

Wilson, Amos N. The Developmental Psychology of the Black Child. New York: Africana Research Publications, 1978.

B. Readings Relevant To Human Behavior In The Social Environment

Abrahams, Roger D. *Positively Black*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., (1970).

Adler, Bill. *Growing Up Black*. Morrow, (1968).

Allen, Walter R. "The Search for Applicable Theories of Black Family Life." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, XL, No. 1 (1978), 117-129.

Barnes, Edward J. "The Black Community As the Source of Positive Self-Concept for Black Children: A Theoretical Perspective." In *Black Psychology*. Edited by Reginald L. Jones. New York, NY: Harper and Row, (1972), 113-123.

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VIII. Guidelines for Incorporating Content in Core Courses

VIII. Guidelines for Incorporating "Black Children and Their Families" in Core Courses

A. HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Traditional human behavior content has sometimes focused exclusively upon the issue of black identity and self-esteem. This issue is extremely important and is included here.* However, what is not always included is the content that aims at educating the student about specific aspects that identify cultural characteristics of Afro-American life and the cultural strengths of Black families (i.e., the non-deficit approach to learning about a culture). For example, much has been written about the negative image black children have acquired as a result of their being black. However, the recent emphasis on a more positive image (black is beautiful) by the black community has tended to offset this negative image. Moreover, recent research on the socialization of black children (McAdoo, 1974) has demonstrated that black children have little or no identity problems as a result of their color. This is not to say that such identity problems do not exist among black children or black adults. Thus, students still need to be sensitive about the possibility of negative image occuring, but in the main, nowadays black children appear to have much less of a problem than was the case before the 1960's. The significance of this change in perception has far reaching implications for black children growing up in America today. However, it is still necessary for the student to understand that the black family has to continue helping the child to deal with the majority culture's attitudes about blackness. In short, the student needs to have an awareness of what black children must overcome to deal with all the connotations the word black has.

Suggested Content:

(1) Definition of the terms culture, non-deficit, and Afro-Centric
(2) Non-deficit approach to examining Afro-American culture and behavior
(3) Cultural characteristics of Afro-American life

    (a) music
    (b) food
    (c) language
    (d) behaviors
    (e) religion (i.e., the black church)

(4) Non-verbal communication patterns of black people
(5) Historical evolution of the black family

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*There are good examples in Hill's, Billingsley's and Martin and Martin's writings as to how the importance of the extended family is carried from the past to the present among black families.

(6) Characteristics of black families - focus on identification of cultural strengths as described by Robert Hill:

- permanency of extended family
- adaptability of family roles
- strong kinship bonds
- strong work orientation
- strong religious orientation
- strong achievement orientation
- value of children

(7) Child rearing patterns in black families - examining practices that are culturally based which can be misinterpreted by the dominant culture as "abusive" or "neglect"
(8) Black family structures, functions, stresses
(9) Familial roles and relationships

    (a) male/female
    (b) sibling
    (c) extended family
    (d) oldest child

(10) Black identity and self-esteem, especially as it relates to a family whose children have been placed in foster care or as it relates to a child who is experiencing foster care placement and/or adoptive placement. Effect of transracial (or cross cultural) adoptions on a child's development and identity.
(11) Relationships among members of middle class, intact black families
(12) A non-deifict approach toward recognition of problems that exist in the black community (as well as in other cultural groups) such as: Hypertension, alcoholism, teenage pregnancies, teenage suicides among black males. etc.

B. POLICY

It is important to recognize that the vast majority of black families remain intact and require no special assistance in establishing permanence for their children. Policies developed for the intact black family must be viewed within the major conditions affecting black families as outlined by Chestang:

(1) societal injustice
(2) societal inconsistency
(3) personal impotence

Other policy issues below are defined within the framework of examining, revising, developing, and implementing services to black families that are already within the child welfare system.

Suggested Content:

(1) Permanent Planning - its success rate for white children compared to its success rate for black children
(2) Over representation of black children in the foster care population
(3) Length of time black children remain in foster care
(4) Placement services offered to black children

(5) Agency adoption policies as they relate to the placement of black children:

  (a) methods of recruitment and screening
  (b) informal vs. formal adoption
  (c) use of extended family as placement choice
  (d) transracial adoptions

(6) Quantity and quality of services provided to black families-examining an agency's racial attitudes and its commitment (or lack of) to black families
(7) Identifying policies that would prevent the disruption of black families
(8) Implications of child welfare legislation for black families (ex. Public Law 96-272)
(9) Identifying social work approaches/policies that provide services to black families without violating cultural integrity
(10) Impact of the larger systems (health, mental health, housing, welfare, education, justice, political) on the functioning of black families
(11) The policy implications of the Moynihan report
(12) The problems encountered by black children and families as a result of policies affecting such areas as:

  - civil rights legislation
  - Economic Opportunities Act
  - employment policies (or the lack of them) for black youth
  - adoption policies (eg., transracial adoptions)
  - impact of income maintenance programs on black families
  - quality of services to black children and families

C. PRACTICE

The perspectives and knowledge that students have gained about working with black families and children must be related to actual practice in a social work practice course. Several "how to" issues essential to education about working with black families in the child welfare system are listed below:

How To:

(1) Develop a non-deficit approach to assessment

  - assessing the whole person, interacting with a multitude of social systems
  - identifying barriers to an accurate assessment such as lack of knowledge of black culture, misinterpretation of child rearing practice, attitudinal barriers, etc. (Do we have culturally appropriate defendable criteria for evaluating a home?)
  - determining points of intervention
  - intervening in a manner which gives support without taking away integrity

(2) Develop methods of permanency planning in black communities

- using extended family to assist families in stress and as a placement choice (when placement must occur)
- reunification of families that have been separated
- recruiting and eliciting community support to assist families - through community organizations, school systems, the media, neighborhood business - networking
- recruiting black adoptive families for black children

(3) Provide intensive home-based services to black families in stress to prevent disruption and placement

(a) worker's role
(b) parents' role

(4) Deal with problems encountered in social work practice in the black community:

(a) the significance of race in the helping relationship
(b) black workers - black clients relationship difficulties
(c) addressing the counseling needs of middle income blacks

D. RESEARCH

In a research course studies that have addressed the place of the black family in American society and in particular in the child welfare system can be helpful in terms of:

(1) gaining an understanding of the effect of the social service system on black families, and
(2) evaluating the validity or bias of particular research studies

Suggested Content:

(1) How social science studies (like the Moynihan Report and others) have portrayed the black family from a pathological and biased perspective.
(2) Evaluating the findings concerning transracial adoption......
(3) Assessing recent studies about black adoptions....highlighting differences in adoption rates among blacks and other cultural groups and the implications for practice and policy.
(4) Reviewing foster care studies as they pertain to the black child and his family (i.e., rates of foster care among black children - length of stay in foster care illustrating trends and comparisons with other cultural groups).
(5) Analyzing Billingsley and other reports on child abuse and neglect among black families - implications for practice and policy.
(6) Analyze studies that address institutionalization of black youth vs. institutionalization of white youth.
(7) Identifying and analyzing research findings that portray the "strength-resiliency" perspective of black families (eg. Guttman (1976), Fogel and Engerman (1974), Pleck (1973), English (1974), McAdoo (1974).